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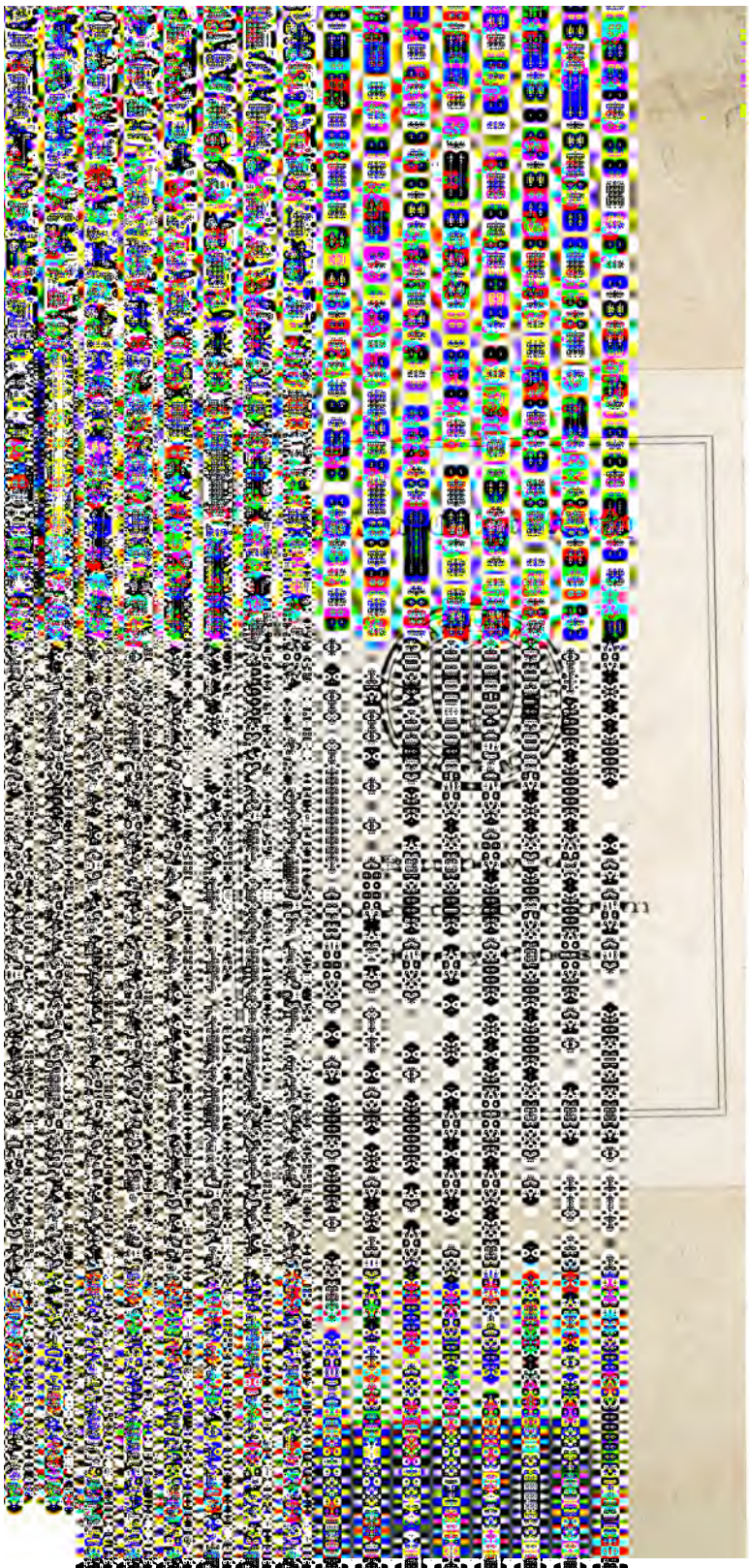
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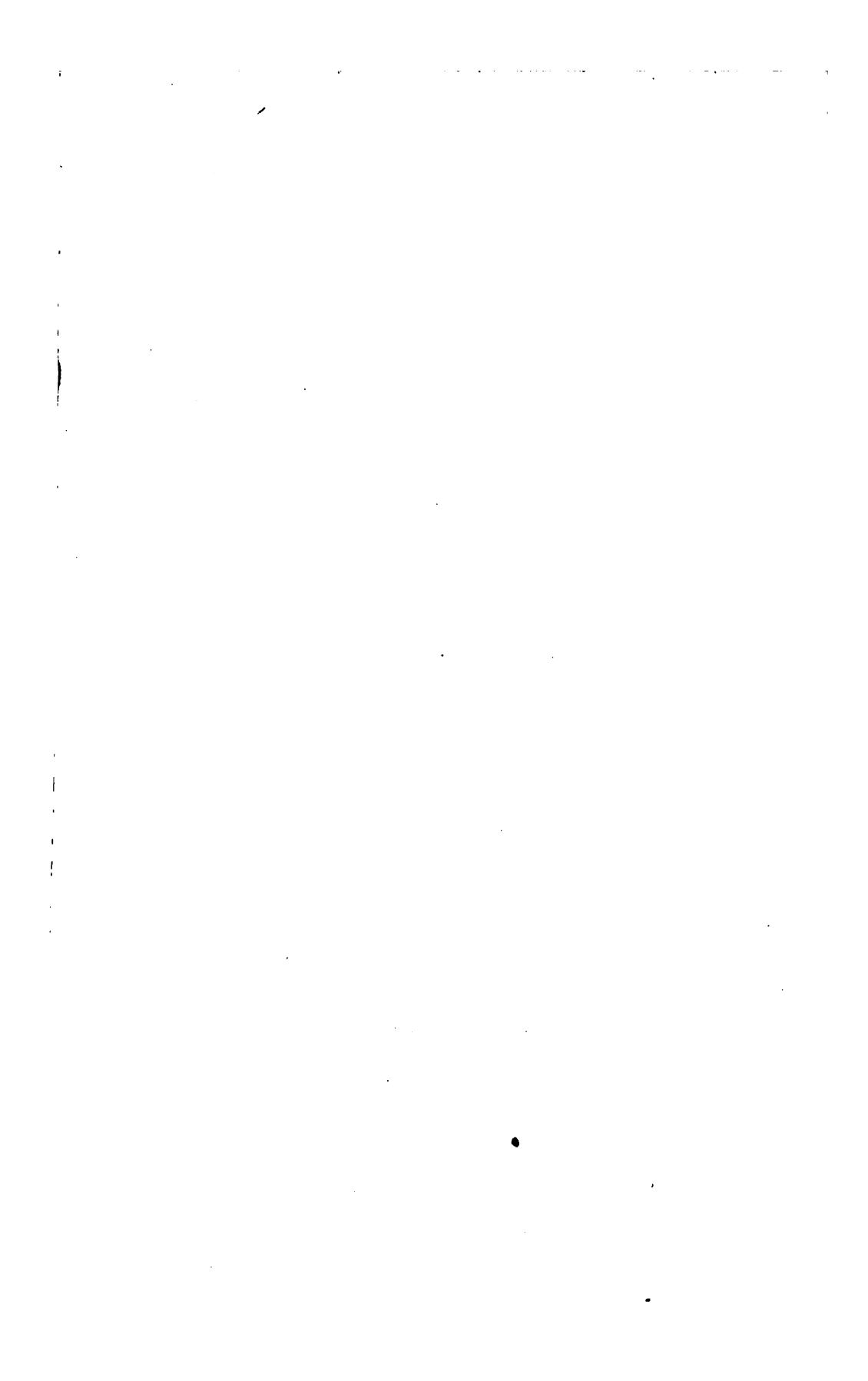


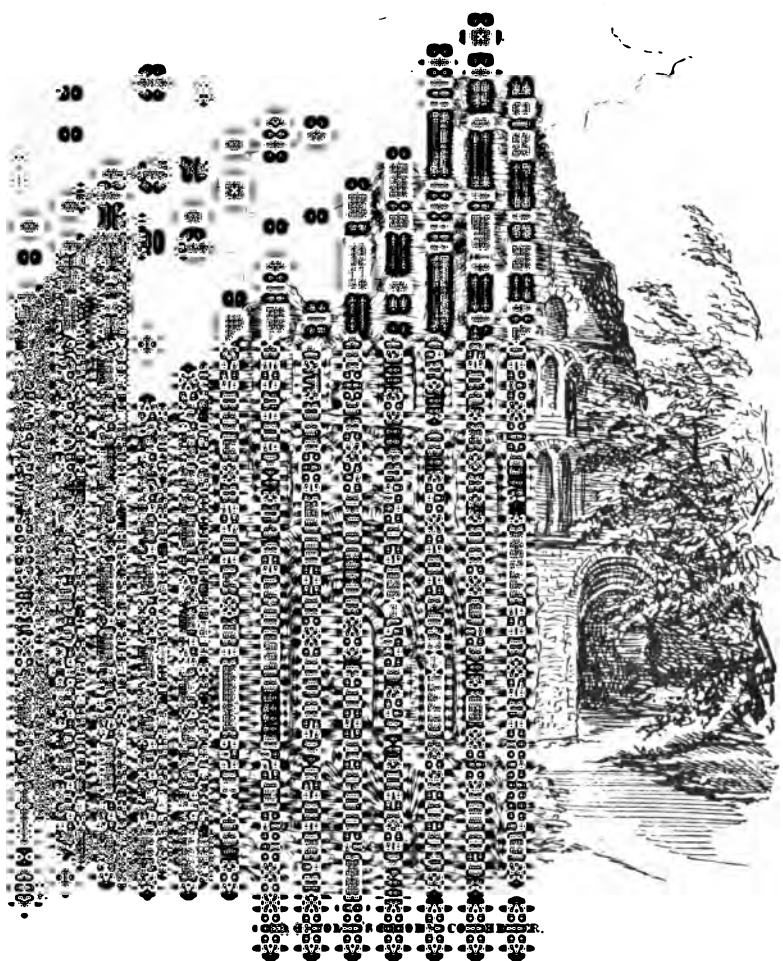


BYGONE ESSEX.

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BYGONE ESSEX.

EDITED BY

WILLIAM ANDREWS, F.R.H.S.,

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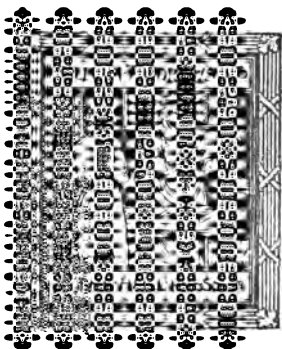
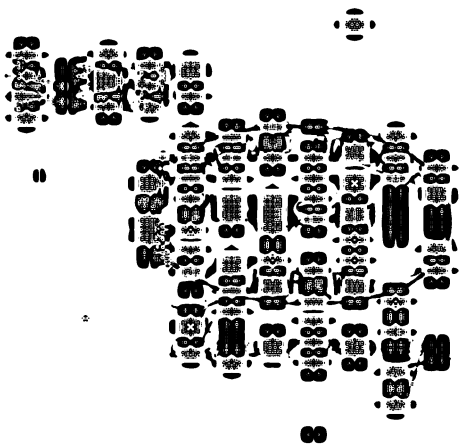
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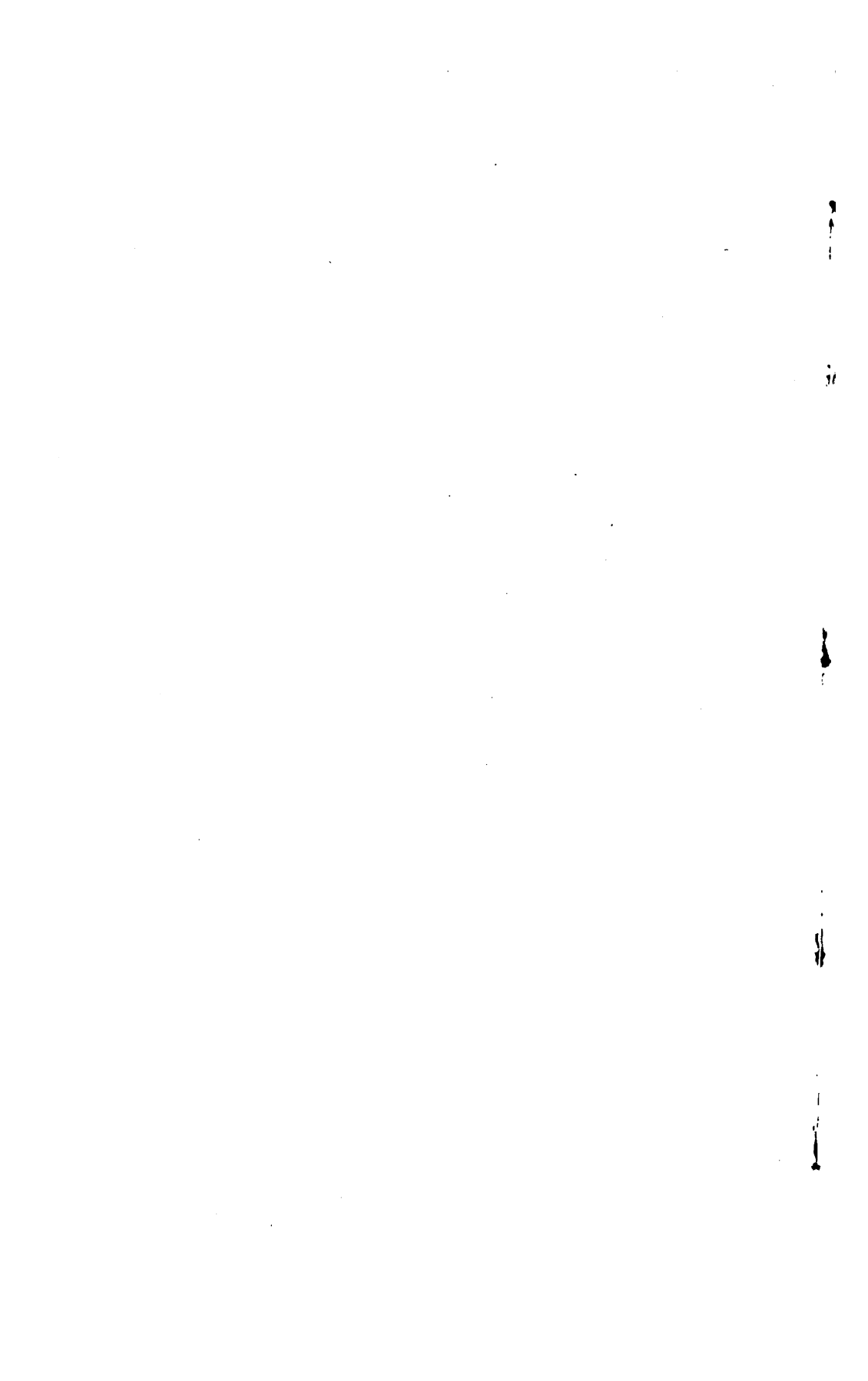
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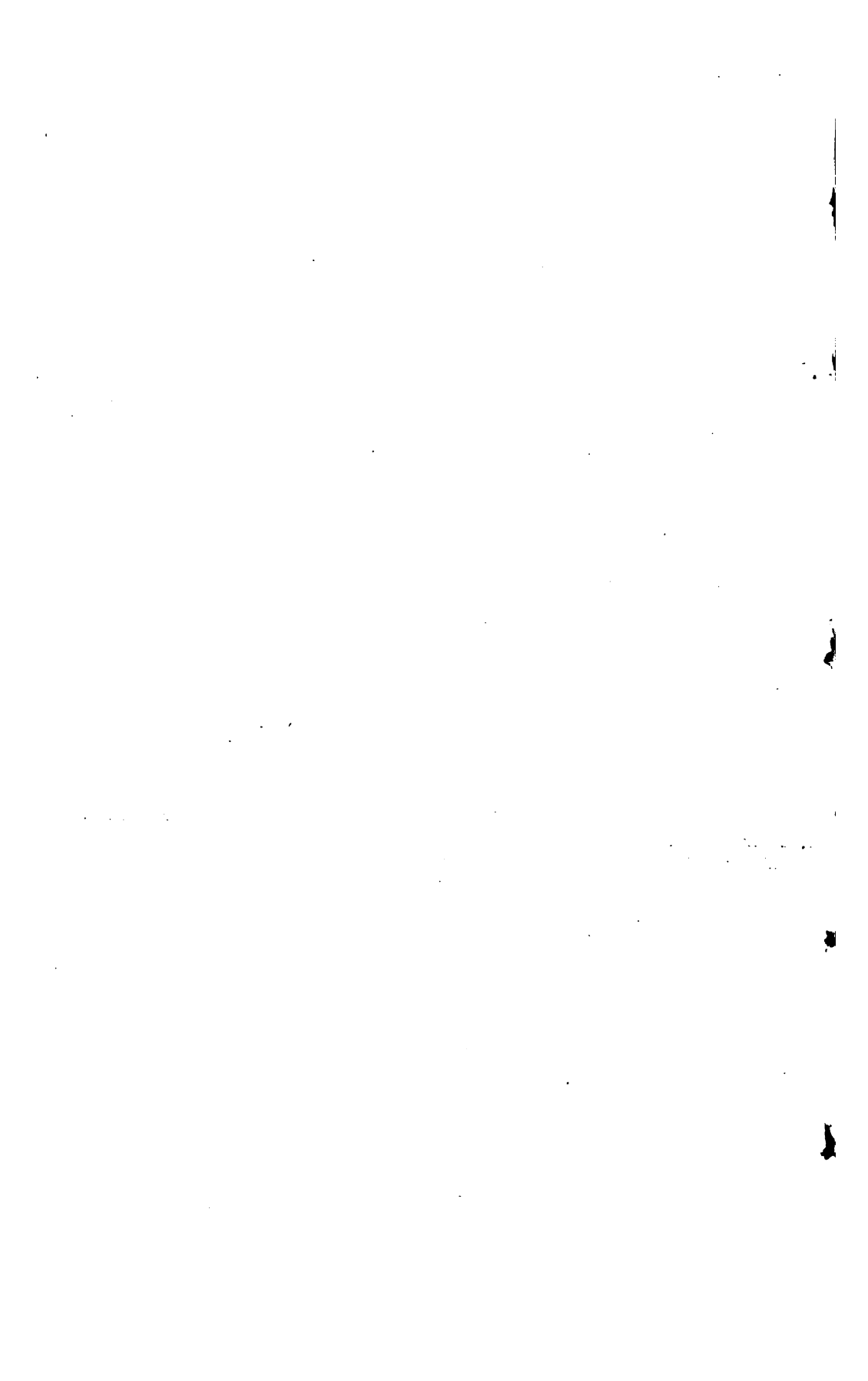
Preface.

IN this book an attempt is made to deal in a popular style with important and interesting old-time subjects connected with Essex. It is hoped that the Editor and his Contributors have not failed to attain their object, and that the reader and the critic will not be disappointed with the result.

The Editor begs to tender his thanks to his Contributors who have aided him with pen and pencil.

WILLIAM ANDREWS.

HULL LITERARY CLUB,
May 6th, 1892.



Contents.

	PAGE
HISTORIC ESSEX. By Thomas Frost	1
EPPING FOREST: ITS HISTORY, CUSTOMS, AND LAWS. By Jesse Quail	22
GREENSTEAD CHURCH. By Edward Lamplough	37
THE BURIAL OF HAROLD AT WALTHAM. By William Winters, F.R.H.S.	43
ST. OSYTH'S PRIORY. By John T. Page	62
COLCHESTER IN OLDEN TIMES. By Joseph W. Spurgeon	74
THE SIEGE OF COLCHESTER. By Joseph W. Spurgeon	89
COLCHESTER: ITS HISTORIC BUILDINGS AND FAMOUS MEN. By Joseph W. Spurgeon	100
ESSEX TOKENS. By Thomas Forster	114
QUEEN ELIZABETH AT TILBURY: A GLANCE AT ARMADA DAYS. By Edward Lamplough	122
THE LAWLESS COURT. By the Rev. Geo. S. Tyack, B.A.	135
THE DUNMOW FLITCH	143
A DESERTED PRIMITIVE VILLAGE. By G. Fredk. Beaumont	157
WILLIAM HUNTER: THE YOUNG MARTYR OF BRENTWOOD. By John W. Odling	171
FAIRLOP FAIR. By John W. Odling	182
THOMAS TUSSEY, AND HIS "FIVE HUNDRED POINTS OF GOOD HUSBANDRY." By W. H. Thompson	190
JOHN RAY, NATURALIST. By W. H. Thompson	195
WANSTEAD HOUSE. By John T. Page	199
HOPKINS, THE WITCHFINDER. By Frederick Ross, F.R.H.S.	208
AN ESSEX POET. By the Rev. Geo. S. Tyack, B.A.	223
HISTORIC HARWICH	232
OLD BOW BRIDGE. By John T. Page	238
INDEX	247
LIST OF SUBSCRIBERS	251

BYGONE ESSEX.

Historic Essex.

BY THOMAS FROST.

ESSEX, owing to its geographical position, with its eastern coast facing the North Sea, beyond which was the land of the roving Norsemen, and its southern shore washed by the estuary of the Thames, became, at an early period of English history, the scene of the struggles of successive invading races for possession of its fertile plains. Julius Cæsar, in whose relation of his wars we have the earliest information concerning the aboriginal inhabitants of our country, found it occupied by the Trinobantes, whose king, Cassibelaunus, was chosen as generalissimo of the confederated British tribes that opposed the Roman invasion. The Britons being defeated, the Trinobantes agreed to pay tribute to the conqueror, but, in other respects, they remained

independent for nearly a century afterwards. In the year 43 of the Christian era, a Roman army crossed the Thames, routed the Trinobantes, and marched on to Camulodunum, the site of the present town of Colchester, where the Emperor Claudius established a garrison, and appointed a governor. Roads were made from that town to London, then called Londinium, and to Bishop's Stortford, and thence to Verulamium, now St. Albans. A palace was built for the governor, and a temple and an amphitheatre soon rose near it. It is no wonder, therefore, that remains of Roman buildings have been found in the neighbourhood, as well as Roman coins and fragments of ancient pottery.

In the itinerary of Antoninus, two of the great Roman roads are said to have passed through Essex, and, besides Camulodunum, Cæsaromagus, supposed to be Chelmsford, Canonium (Kelvedon), Durositum (near Brentwood), and Sturium (Stratford) are mentioned as Roman colonies and military stations. There were probably others, for there appears to have been a military road from Tilbury to Ongar, with a fort at Great Binstead to protect it; and at Audley End are the indications of a camp, with traces of a road

thence to Chesterford. Under the Roman occupation of our island, the Britons became, to a considerable extent, Romanised ; but the revolt of the Iceni, the tribe occupying the counties of Suffolk and Norfolk, for a time arrested the progress of civilisation, and made a wreck of Camulodunum. The garrisons appear to have become demoralised by the reports that reached them of the victorious march of the rebels, and they made only a faint resistance when the Iceni swarmed over the wooded hills, and were joined by thousands of the Trinobantes. Camulodunum was taken by assault, and reduced to ashes, while all the Roman colonists were massacred, without distinction of sex or age. Led by the heroic Boadicea, Queen of the Iceni, the victors swept onward, and the scenes of blood and fire which Colchester had witnessed were re-enacted at Coggeshall, Rayne, and Dunmow. Suetonius Paulinus, the pro-prætor, who was then engaged in his Welsh expedition, made a forced march across the country on hearing of this formidable rising, and encountered the rebels somewhere between Epping and Waltham. They fell back upon an entrenched camp in the forest, the remains of which may be traced near Epping,

and are known as Ambersbury Banks. In the battle that ensued, the Britons, though far more numerous than the Romans, were overthrown with great slaughter, and from that time until they withdrew from Britain, the conquerors ruled without opposition.

History has recorded no events of importance between the death of Boadicea and the withdrawal of the Romans from the island. The Colchester Chronicle, written in the Oath Book of that town, and dating, it is supposed, from the fourteenth century, records that the Emperor Constantine was born at Colchester in 265, and was the illegitimate son of the Roman general, Constantius, and Helena, the daughter of Coel, the Governor of Essex, who, according to the same authority, had revolted against the Roman rule a few years previously. But this is not the generally accepted account of Constantine's origin, and the appearance of the cross in the arms of Colchester may be due to other reasons than the alleged discovery by Helena of the cross on which the Saviour suffered. There is no doubt that Christianity was introduced into the county at an early date, and, in 314, we find Adolphus, Bishop of Colan (Colchester), attend-

ing an ecclesiastical council at Arles. Whatever influence the new religion may have exercised seems, however, to have disappeared before the devastating flood of the Saxon invasion, in which, also, the refinements of Roman civilisation were swept away.

Until this time, the history of Colchester is, in a great measure, that of the county, but with the establishment of the Anglo-Saxon Heptarchy a change came about in the relation of that town to the county. The kingdom of East Saxony, or Essex, included portions of Middlesex and Herts, and, London being selected for the capital, Colchester lost the importance which, for nearly five centuries, it had possessed. Of the Kings of Essex, little is known but their names, but during the period between the formation of the Heptarchy and the union of the seven kingdoms under Egbert, Christianity was re-established, the ruined churches were rebuilt, and villages grew up in the clearings of the forests. Towards the middle of the ninth century, however, new hordes of rovers from the lands beyond the North Sea began to harass and devastate the country. In 830, a swarm of Danes, coming on a plundering incursion into Suffolk, made their way into

Essex, and pillaged Colchester. Forty years later, a body of these marauders seized and fortified South Bemfleet, on the shore of Hadleigh Bay, and about four miles above the present fishing town of Leigh. Year after year, other bands ascended the Crouch and the Blackwater, and took possession of the most fertile portions of the hundreds of Rochford and Dengie. Occasionally they sallied out from their strongholds at South Bemfleet and Danbury, and plundered their neighbours, whom they often carried off and held for ransom. So powerful did the Danes become in this part of the country that Alfred agreed to recognise Godrun as King of East Anglia, only stipulating that he should embrace Christianity, and that his people should settle down quietly in the districts in their possession.

In 894, however, a fresh horde of invaders, having ravaged Kent, and being attacked by Alfred, crossed the Thames, on the Essex shore of which they had moored their ships, and sailed for the Colne, where they entrenched themselves on Mersea Island. The English attacked the fort at South Bemfleet, and captured and destroyed it, the defenders retiring to South

Shoebury, where they built a fort. From that point they made marauding excursions in all directions, but, being repulsed on most of these occasions, they withdrew from the place, and Mersea Island was abandoned soon afterwards. On Godrun's death, the Danes settled in Essex made their submission to Alfred, and, until the death of that able ruler, the county enjoyed peace. When that occurred, however, a body of Danes landed on the coast, but were defeated by Edward, who then built a fort at Witham, and rebuilt the defences of Maldon. Colchester was at this time a thoroughly Danish town, but in 914, the garrison of Maldon, reinforced by volunteers from the neighbourhood, marched against it, captured it, and killed or drove out all the inhabitants. In revenge, a body of Danes from Suffolk and Norfolk entered Essex, and besieged Maldon, but, on the approach of a relieving force, fled northward. They were overtaken, however, and defeated with heavy loss.

For seventy years, Essex enjoyed peace. Then fresh hordes of Danes invaded the county, and besieged Maldon, which fell into their hands, after an army marching to its relief had been

defeated with great slaughter. Peace was bought by the evil expedient of paying the marauders a sum of money, and this led to fresh exactions. In 1009, a Danish fleet wintered in the Thames, and their crews burned the neighbouring towns and villages, and ravaged the country. These troubles culminated in a great battle at Ashingdon, in which the English were defeated, and their overthrow resulted in placing a Danish king on the throne. The Danes then settled down, and soon became amalgamated with the Saxon population. The burnt towns and villages were rebuilt, and the arts of peace again cultivated. Under the three Danish kings who successively reigned in England, the restored supremacy of the Saxons, the Norman dynasty, and the early Plantagenets, the history of the county furnished no events calling for narration in this sketch, beyond the residence of Edward the Confessor at Havering-at-Bower, the burial of Harold at Waltham Abbey, and the court held by William I. at Barking.

The lives of the people of Essex passed peacefully, so far as exemption from foreign raids and civil broils was concerned, until 1215, when the

Earl of Winchester marched into the county at the head of an army of foreign mercenaries, levied by the tyrant John, and laid siege to Colchester. Hearing, however, that the baronial troops were hastening from London to its relief, he withdrew to Bury. John obtained possession of the town soon afterwards, and in the same year besieged and captured Hedingham Castle. For some time the county was exposed to the ravages of both king and barons, and the death of John did not end the people's troubles. Louis of France, whom the barons had called to their aid, was unwilling to withdraw his troops, which over-ran the county, and besieged and captured Colchester and Hedingham Castle. The victories of the Earl of Pembroke in other quarters obliged him to withdraw soon afterwards, and Essex enjoyed tranquillity until the spirit of freedom which had prompted the nobles to rebel against John spread downward to the rural labourers, who were then held in slavery, and brought about the insurrection with which the name of Wat Tyler is associated. Local traditions assign the well-known story of the slaying of the ruffianly tax-collector by Tyler to Brentwood, but better authorities place the

incident at Dartford, in Kent. It is certain, however, that the insurrection was prepared for in Essex by the preaching of John Ball, a priest of Colchester, who had imbibed the doctrines of Wickcliffe, and combined with them much of the Socialism of the present day. The rising in Essex was simultaneous with that in Kent, and the flame of revolt spread quickly into all the eastern counties. The Essex men mustered to the number of many thousands, and marched through Romford and Stratford to Mile End, where they encamped in the fields, and there Richard II., accompanied by several of the nobility, rode forth to meet them. He was alarmed by their turbulent aspect, however, and fled to the Tower, whence he issued a proclamation conceding all their demands and granting a general pardon. The insurgents then dispersed, and they had no sooner done so than the King recalled the proclamation and marched an army into Essex to suppress the revolt. The insurgents made a stand at Billericay, but their numbers failed to compensate for their want of discipline and military skill, and they were routed with great slaughter. Some sought refuge in the woods; others fled to Colchester, where shelter

was refused them, and they were all killed or taken prisoners. A "bloody assize" followed at Chelmsford, and hundreds of the victims of the monarch's bad faith were hanged with all the barbarous accompaniments of the death penalty for treason, which remained on the statute book down to our own time.

No events of sufficient importance to be recorded here occurred in Essex during the reigns of Henry IV. and his successor. The serfs rose in revolt again when they heard of the march of the Kentish men upon London in the reign of Henry VI., and again they assembled at Mile End; but they dispersed on Cade's defeat, and re-assumed the galling yoke they longed to throw off. During the sanguinary civil strife between the Yorkist and Lancastrian factions, the possessions of many of the nobility and gentry became forfeited to the crown, participating in the changing fortunes of the rival claimants of the throne, the partisans of the Duke of York being so fortunate, however, as to have their estates restored to them on the accession of Edward IV. They held them but for a short time in most cases, for those who adhered to the elder branch of the royal family

were again deprived of them when the chances of war placed on the throne the usurper Henry VII. Lord Lovel and others fled to Colchester after the battle of Bosworth, and found an asylum there for nearly a year. When Henry made a journey northward, they sallied from their retreat at the head of three thousand men, in the hope of surprising him; but the enterprise was frustrated, and some of the conspirators were captured and executed. Lovel escaped to the continent, but returned to support the imposter Simnel, and is supposed to have fallen in the retreat from Stoke.

Henry VIII. was a frequent visitor to Essex, and many old mansions are known to have been, or have the traditional repute of having been, places to which he occasionally retreated from the Court, or resorted to enjoy the society of his mistresses. Chigwell and Havering were frequently his temporary residences during the hunting season, and he is known to have been an occasional visitor at Terling Place. Shenfield, in the parish of Margareting, the old priory house at Blackmore, and Newland Hall, a venerable mansion on the road from Boyton Cross to Margaret Roothing, are said to have been houses

to which the visits of the amorous king were made more secretly.

Essex seems to have regarded the Reformation with scant favour. The social results of the suppression of monasteries led to tumults in this and other counties. Twice in 1549, a year of dearth, tumultuous mobs wandered through Essex, breaking down fences, and attacking the houses of the promoters of the new order of things, in which they were encouraged by the high bailiff of Romford, who, on the suppression of these disorders, was arrested and executed. The number of persons burned for their adherence to the Reformed Church in the reign of Mary shows, however, that the feeling in the county against the Reformation was not general. Those who can derive any satisfaction from the perusal of the records of the terrible persecution to which those who had embraced the doctrines of Luther and Calvin were exposed, may find the grim narrative in all its horrible details in the martyrology of Foxe. It must suffice here that the fires kindled by religious bigotry and intolerance blazed at Brentwood, Horndon-on-the-Hill, Rayleigh, Maldon, Braintree, Colchester, Rochford, Coggeshall, Chelmsford, Manningtree,

and Harwich, besides others in which Essex men and women were consumed in London. The number of victims belonging to Essex was seventy-two. Nor did the death of Mary terminate these horrors. Under Elizabeth, the Protestants were relieved from their fears; it was then the Catholics who suffered, not indeed at the stake, but by imprisonment and exile, and not unfrequently by the gallows.

In 1579, the Queen made a progress through the county, in which she spent six weeks, visiting the houses of the principal nobility and gentry, and being right royally entertained by the burgesses of Colchester and Harwich. However ill-deserved the appellation of "good Queen Bess" may have been, it seems certain that Elizabeth was a popular sovereign, and though she was in every respect a feminine counterpart of her father, retained during her reign the loyal affection with which she was regarded on her accession to the throne. When the country was menaced by a Spanish invasion, the loyal enthusiasm of the people rose to the highest pitch, and Essex was not backward in the demonstrations which the occasion called forth. The inhabitants of Colchester furnished three

ships to strengthen the royal navy, and preparations to resist the threatened invasion were made along the coast, no one knowing where the blow would fall. At Tilbury, where a block-house had been erected in the reign of Henry VIII., an army of 22,000 infantry and 1000 horsemen was encamped for the protection of the capital. The lines of the camp can no longer be traced, but the spot is still pointed out from which the Queen addressed the inspiring words to the army, which the historians of the period have handed down to us.

In the early years of the following reign, Essex was ravaged by pestilence and famine. The plague carried off hundreds of the population in 1604, and four years later widespread suffering was caused by failure of the harvest. Apart from these misfortunes, the county was thriving, and the silk and woollen manufactures, introduced by Protestant refugees from the Netherlands, were flourishing at Colchester, Coggeshall, Bocking, Braintree, and Halstead. The arbitrary and unconstitutional proceedings of both James and Charles were fast engendering a feeling of discontent, however, and it was greatly aggravated under the latter by the levying of "ship money." The

inhabitants of Colchester paid their share grudgingly in 1634, and in the following year they refused payment, but ultimately paid a portion of the sum demanded. By 1641, they had become bold enough to petition for the removal of the bishops from the House of Lords, incongruously adding a request that the town might be better fortified. The House of Commons took the hint that such defences might be necessary if the king persisted in his unconstitutional measures, and voted fifteen hundred pounds for putting the town and the block-house at Mersea Island in a better state of defence. Later on, when Charles attempted to arrest five members of the House who had been prominent in opposing his arbitrary will, an address was sent up from Essex, setting forth the determination of the people to defend the privileges of Parliament with their lives. There was a spirit abroad in the county which boded ill to the king if he failed to read aright the signs of the times, a foresight of which subsequent events proved him to be incapable.

The majority of the people of Essex, of all classes, were on the side of the Parliament from the commencement of the struggle, and when that body gave the command of the army to the

Earl of Essex, and the king set up the standard of absolutism at Nottingham, the county joined with Herts, Cambridge, Suffolk, and Norfolk in a league called the Eastern Association for the Parliament, by which those counties engaged to assist each other in maintaining the constitution and the laws. The lord-lieutenant and deputy-lieutenants, with most of the leading men of the county, were active in this movement. The trained bands were called out, officered, and armed. Large sums of money were raised for the Parliament, and many gentlemen sacrificed their plate, and ladies their trinkets, even their silver thimbles, to aid the popular cause. The public mind was stirred to its lowest depths. When, after the battle of Edgehill, the royal army advanced into Middlesex and threatened London, the Essex militia and volunteers were sent to aid in the defence of the capital ; and at the battle of Marston Moor, a large proportion of the troops under Cromwell consisted of the Essex levies and volunteers. When, however, the power of the Parliamentary army began to overshadow that of the Parliament, the enthusiasm of the people of Essex received a damping. The headquarters of the army were at this time at Saffron Walden,

and when the soldiers complained, in their remonstrance, that "while petitions from Essex and other places were openly encouraged against the army, their mouths were stopped," Cromwell and others were sent there as a commission to inquire into "the causes of these distempers." The time for prompt and decisive action had arrived. Colonel Joyce was sent from Saffron Walden to arrest the king. Charles's escape and the Scottish invasion revived the spirit of the Royalists, and those Essex men who remained loyal to the cause of the expiring monarchy gathered themselves together and marched to Brentwood, under the command of Sir Charles Lucas. At that place they effected a junction with a body of Kentish royalists, who after their defeat on Barham Downs by Fairfax, had crossed the Thames; and on the following day the combined force marched to Chelmsford, where their numbers were swelled by Hertfordshire men under Lord Capel and others from Epping. It was resolved to march northward, but finding that Sir Thomas Honeywood, with a strong Parliamentary force, barred the way, and that Fairfax, having crossed the Thames, was advancing from Tilbury, they proceeded to Braintree, and thence by a forced

march to Colchester. The gates of that town were closed against them, but after a slight skirmish, in which a townsman fell, the authorities capitulated, stipulating that the town should not be plundered nor the inhabitants molested. Fairfax advanced northward with rapidity, reinforced by the local Parliamentary forces, and summoned the Royalists to surrender. The Earl of Norwich replied with a scornful defiance, and Colonel Fane sallied forth to meet the besiegers, but was repulsed with considerable loss. The town was then subjected to a regular siege. Fairfax planted his main body on Lexden Heath, blocked the West Bergholt road with a strong force of cavalry, and occupied the fort at Mersea Island, thus hemming in the defenders on every side. The Royalists had not intended to remain in the town more than a few days, but retreat being now impracticable, they strengthened the defences of the town as well as they could, and held the place for eleven weeks, surrendering only when their provisions and ammunition were exhausted, and their number reduced by losses in fruitless sallies. This, so far as Essex was concerned, was the closing scene of the civil war.

While these events were in progress, Essex was

the scene of a series of judicial murders in the form of executions for the pretended crime of witchcraft, belief in which appears at that time to have been almost universal. Matthew Hopkins, the arch witchfinder, was a native of Manningtree, and he favoured his native county with many exhibitions of his pretended skill in the detection of that imaginary offence. He stated in his depositions that there were seven or eight witches living in Manningtree in 1644, and others in towns adjacent; and in the following year he haled twenty-five old women before a special court held at Chelmsford. Ten of these poor wretches were hanged there, four were burned at Manningtree, one died on the way to execution, and two in prison. Only one of the number was acquitted.

During the next hundred years the part which Essex played in the history of the kingdom was marked by no striking events. The county gave a hearty welcome to William III., whose accession afforded relief from the despotism of the latter Stuarts, under whom one hundred and twenty-four clergymen of the Established Church were ejected from their pulpits for conducting the services otherwise than according to the Act

of Uniformity. But amidst all the agitations of that period, the industries of Essex flourished, and the woollen goods of Colchester in particular were in high repute, the value of the weekly production amounting to £30,000. So wealthy were the manufacturers becoming that a local historian (Morant) expressed a fear that the moral welfare of the inhabitants might be endangered by a plethora of riches. This manufacture has long since left the county, however, and without its departure entailing the serious consequences that were feared when it began to decay. Agriculture continued to flourish, and with the improvement of the roads and the cultivation of the waste lands, the people were able to contemplate without regret the imaginary "good old times" which each generation refers to a period beyond its own recollection.

Epping Forest: Its History, Customs, and Laws.

BY JESSE QUAIL.

THE Forest of Epping, or Waltham, as it was formerly called, is a splendid tract of nearly nine square miles of primitive woodland, in the county of Essex, which has in recent years been rescued by the London Corporation from being enclosed and built upon, and is now dedicated to the use and enjoyment of the public. It is the remains of what was once one of the most extensive Royal Forests of England. Originally the whole of Essex was forest land, and it bore the name of Essex Forest. But large portions of it were disafforested in the reigns of successive kings, until, about the time of Edward III., what remained became localised as Waltham Forest, and subsequently the name was gradually changed to Epping Forest.

King Henry VIII. is said to have preferred Epping to any other Royal Forest in England for hunting purposes. So fond was he of it, that,

according to an old tradition, he went to the hunt there on the morning that his Queen, Anne Boleyn, was executed, setting out the moment he heard a signal gun which told him that the fatal deed was done.

The old Forest Laws—enacted to preserve the royal privileges and facilities of hunting—were so strict and even cruel up to comparatively modern times, and there were so many offenders against them, that King James I. gave sanction to Henry, Earl of Oxford, who was then Warden of Waltham Forest, to build a gaol at Stratford, solely for the accommodation of those charged with breaches of the Forest Laws within the limits of this forest. The same king ordered a perambulation of the Forest bounds, for the purpose of its delimitation, but the documentary records of this perambulation could not afterwards be found, and it is alleged that they were “smuggled” by some predatory Lord of the Manor, intent on enclosure of the Forest land for his own exclusive pleasure. King Charles I. ordered the appointment of a commission of enquiry to take evidence of such perambulation, and redetermine the boundaries of the Forest. This commission fixed the acreage at 60,000, but subsequent encroachments so

reduced this area, that in 1871, when the London Corporation interfered to preserve it, the Forest land unenclosed had dwindled down to 3,400 acres.

The citizens of London and the freeholders of Essex have from time immemorial held certain rights in Epping Forest, and it is the recognition, and, if we may use the word here, modernising of those rights, which gave the Lord Mayor and City Corporation a *locus standi* in their efforts to snatch from the bonds of the encloser and builder what now remains of this once extensive forest. One of the rights possessed by the citizens of London was derived from a privilege granted in 1226, which accorded free permission to hunt the Forest once every year, namely at Easter. In the olden times this was celebrated by a grand hunt in state, led by the Lord Mayor and City magnates, who were followed by a large number of the principal burgesses. The hunt was for many generations conducted with due ceremony and much civic display. But by the beginning of the last century, the Epping hunt had degenerated into a vulgar and ribald rout. Though it has been kept up, more or less, until quite recently, the annual custom became in

late years quite a nuisance, while the cruel practices connected with the chase of tame stags by an unruly rabble, led the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals to move the authorities to interfere and put a stop to the more disgraceful scenes which attended the event. Very stringent bye-laws have lately been passed prohibiting the shooting or trapping of wild creatures in the Forest; but the Board of Conservators, who have now the management of it, have the right to direct a certain number of bucks to be shot each year, and the venison is distributed among neighbouring landed proprietors whose hunting rights are so commuted.

Another popular right in connection with this forest was vested in the freeholders of Essex. They had the privilege of electing certain Verderers to watch over its affairs, and safeguard the interests of the inhabitants of the county in connection therewith. There were usually four Verderers elected, who, with the Grand Warden, appointed by the Crown, and Lieutenant or Deputy Warden, constituted the Forest Court for the trial of offenders against the Forest Laws. One of the Verderers was usually the Member of Parliament for the county. The date of the last

regular election of Verderers by the Essex freeholders, appears to have been 1816, after which time the Forest Court, as formerly constituted, gradually fell into desuetude, the freeholders losing, at least for the time being, their right to elect Verderers by ceasing to exercise it. In the days when this Sylvan tribunal discharged its duly appointed functions, Epping Forest was divided into ten sections or "walks," to each of which a master keeper was appointed. While this Forest Court existed, popular rights in the Forest were, after a fashion, maintained, notwithstanding the severity of the laws it had to administer. Since the Court has ceased to exist, many encroachments by the Lords of the Manors bordering on the Forest, and other landowners, have been made. But further encroachments have now, happily, been stopped by recent measures for the preservation of the Forest as a place of popular resort.

Among the privileges which the inhabitants of the parishes in which the Forest was situated enjoyed in the old days was that of pasturage for their cattle within the Forest precincts. Indeed, the woodland was, subject to certain Crown rights, treated very

much as an ordinary common, so far as the residents in and about its confines were concerned. One limitation of the rights of commonage, however, was that the inhabitants were obliged to drive home their cattle in what was called "the fence month," in order that the king's deer might have "feed and protection." The "fence month" was fifteen days before and fifteen after old Midsummer Day.

Yet another right of the inhabitants of parishes within Forest bounds was that of "estovers," or "liberty of cutting wood sufficient for their firing," on the Forest wastes. A regulation in connection therewith, which appears to have been imposed on certain of the parishes, though not all, was that only so much wood could be cut each time as could be drawn away "on a sledge only, with two horses." All who are familiar with Epping Forest will have noticed the dwarfed or truncated appearance of many of the trees. This is due to the free exercise of this right of "estovers." The trees are for the most part "pollard," or "polled," oaks and beeches; the frequent loppings of the branches for fuel, and of the topmost branches more particularly, having stunted their growth.

Epping being a "Royal" forest, it was originally in the private possession of the Crown. Many of the rights the inhabitants enjoyed, some of which we have mentioned, but which in recent years gradually passed away from them, being either forfeited or filched, were the gifts of different sovereigns. There was a royal palace at Havering, which was demolished in the time of the Commonwealth. Queen Elizabeth was one of the sovereigns who were fond of visiting Havering Palace for the purpose of enjoying a hunt in Epping Forest. She had also a lodge situated between Chingford and Fair Mead Bottom, High Beach, which still exists, in a more or less "restored" form, and bears the name of Queen Elizabeth's Hunting Lodge. To this place she was very partial, and often resided there. The "Maiden Queen" very freely granted the privilege of wood cutting to the poor of the parishes contiguous to her residence, viz., Loughton, Thoydon Bois, Waltham Abbey, and Epping. But she appointed a rather curious rule to be observed for the maintenance of the right so granted. The possessors of the privilege were required each year to strike axe into the boughs of the trees at midnight of the 11th

November, so as to begin to cut the wood as nearly as possible between the 11th and 12th days of that month. So long as they complied with this rule the right was secured to them, and having so claimed it every year they could thereafter cut and bring home fuel at their pleasure during the winter season. The Queen granted a Royal Charter conferring the privilege on the condition just named, but in later years the Lords of the Manors disputed the concession, and in several instances deprived the poor of their privilege by not very creditable artifices. It is stated that in the days of Charles I. the poor of Waltham Abbey were deprived of their rights of wood cutting by the following trick. Certain of the rich men of the neighbourhood invited them to a supper on the night of 11th November, 1641, and so plentifully supplied them with liquor that they forgot to comply with the condition of their charter at midnight. Thereafter, when any of them proceeded to cut and gather wood, they were stopped by the servants of the men who had provided the supper, and who maintained that by neglecting the midnight striking of their axes on that occasion, these poor people had forfeited their

charter. A similar device was tried on the parishioners of Loughton, but it failed, owing to the 'cuteness of one of the old "fathers of the village." These good people attended a supper provided for them with the like kind intent, on a certain 11th November, but, towards midnight, the old man referred to gave a signal, when the company rose, followed him into the wood, and duly performed the condition attached to their charter. The people of Epping bartered away their wood-cutting privilege in return for certain questionable compensations offered them by the Lord of the Manor. The terms they accepted were only observed for a few years, when the parishioners found they had both lost their rights of winter fuel and the "mess of pottage," for which they had sold those rights, into the bargain. The parishioners of Thoydon Bois, on the other hand, are said never to have parted with their privilege of "estovers."

The Forest Court, it should be remarked here, had power to grant permission of enclosure, building, and other rights on the Forest land, to Lords of the adjoining Manors. But they bestowed such privileges very sparingly. Any unauthorised encloser in those days could be appealed against

to the Forest Court, as well as claims be laid before it that Lords of the Manor chose to make, and its decision was usually regarded as final. Other enclosure rights, however, were purchased from the Crown direct, but the more numerous and extensive enclosures that have been made by various landowners in the Forest since the decay of the powers of the Forest Court have, for the most part, been of the nature of seizures, or what is sometimes in these days called "land-grabbing." It is said that even some of those who had purchased Crown rights went far beyond the powers vested in the Crown, in enclosing, building upon, selling, or otherwise disposing of the Forest lands of which they obtained possession.

The rights of the sovereign over forest lands have existed from Anglo-Saxon times. Originally, forests are said to have been preserved only to enable the sovereign to "take recreation from the severe and harassing cares of State." Even Blackstone defines forest lands as "waste grounds belonging to the King, replenished with all manner of chase or venery, which are under the King's protection, for the sake of his recreation and delight." But subsequently it was discovered that forests had other uses than the pleasures of

royalty, and many of them have for several centuries been specially preserved for the purpose of growing oak and other timber for the "wooden walls of Old England," now replaced by the modern ironclads. In still more modern times it has been recognised that woodlands exert important hygienic and climatic influences, which point to the need of the preservation of whatever patches of them the exigences of an increasing population can spare.

The earliest laws for the protection of forests of which we have any trace in this country were enacted in the time of the Saxon kings. In the reign of Canute, certain Forest Laws were passed, which were exceedingly harsh and cruel. William the Conqueror, who practically created the New Forest, in Hampshire, laid large portions of England waste for his own pleasure, and under successive Norman kings the area devoted to forests for purposes of the chase was greatly increased, and the penalties for breaches of the laws for their protection were made still more rigid and severe. Canute's code of Forest Laws, which was enacted by him at Winchester, continued more or less in force until the reign of Henry III. Under them the king could, with-

out leave or recompense, take possession of any tract of country that he thought proper. Verderers were appointed for the protection of the king's deer, and it was enacted that if any offered violence to one of these officers on any pretence, if a freeman, such offender was to lose his freedom and property; and if a *villein*, his right hand was to be cut off. For a second offence, the penalty was death. The punishment of death was also inflicted on any one who killed a deer in a royal forest, while a fine of ten shillings (which was a very heavy penalty in the old days) was imposed on any one who so much as chased a deer until it panted. Deer were considered of more value than men in those days, and some aver they are still in Scotland. A yet more cruel penalty for other breaches of Forest Laws was deprivation of sight. William I. re-enacted this ruthless code, and, as we have said, it remained in force until the reign of Henry III. From that monarch, the barons obtained, in addition to the *Magna Charta*, a *Carta de Foresta*, or Great Charter of the Forest, which is regarded as the basis of popular rights in forest and common land. Under this charter, a large number of lands seized and laid waste by previous

monarchs were disafforested. The charter commuted to fine and imprisonment the penalties for taking deer, and thenceforward no one was to lose either life or limb for such an offence. It also made it lawful for "Archbishop, Bishop, Earl, or Baron to kill one or two deer" in passing through any forest on the way to or from "doing commandment of the King." The charter likewise granted amnesty to "outlaws of trespass," and relieved them of outlawry on their giving security for good behaviour.

Edward I. made certain laws for the regulation of hunting in the royal forests, and subsequent sovereigns who were fond of the chase appointed verderers, huntsmen, and other officials, with extensive powers, to look after the forests and protect the deer. Henry VIII. and Queen Elizabeth, as already noted, were especially fond of hunting in Epping Forest. James I. was another votary of the chase, and he treated with great harshness those who interfered in any way with his favourite amusement. Osborn, an old writer, says of James's practices:—"I do boldly say that one man in his reign might with more safety have killed another than a rascal deer; but if a stag had been known to have miscarried, and

the author fled, a proclamation with a description of the party had been presently penned by the Attorney-General, and the penalty of his Majesty's high displeasure (meaning the Star Chamber) threatened against all that did abet, comfort, or relieve him ; thus satirical, or, if you please, tragical, was this sylvan prince against deer killers, and indulgent to man slayers."

Owing to the continued encroachments on Epping Forest, to which reference has been made, the House of Commons adopted a resolution, in February, 1870, that it was necessary to take steps to preserve the popular rights therein. The City of London took action, and in 1874 obtained an injunction from the Master of the Rolls preventing further enclosures by Lords of Manors. Lord Mayor Stone visited the Forest in state in 1875, and in 1878 an Act was passed vesting the control of the Forest in the hands of a body of Conservators, consisting of four Verderers elected by the inhabitants of the Forest parishes, and twelve members appointed by the London Corporation. Memorial trees to commemorate the rescue of the Forest from the hand of the spoiler were planted by the Duke and Duchess of Connaught, in October,

1880. The last act in the conflict between popular rights and private privilege in regard to Epping Forest was the state visit of Her Majesty the Queen, on the 6th May, 1882, when it was dedicated to the use of the people for all time. It should be stated that the purchase of lands and rights, and litigation in connection with Epping Forest, cost the public of London some £330,000 in all, and the management expenses now come to over £5,000 annually. Even at this high price the preservation of so delightful a piece of natural woodland must be accounted cheap. The Forest is a public boon, the value of which to the community, is, even to-day, insufficiently appreciated. But by the artist, the naturalist, and the contemplative lover of nature, the wildness and beauty of Epping Forest glades are highly prized, for though so near to the busy haunts of men, Nature there still

“ . . . Wantons as in her prime,
And plays at will her virgin fancies.”

Greensted Church.

BY EDWARD LAMPLOUGH.

THE settler in the wilderness, in his first attempt to house his family, resorts to the most accessible and easily-worked material, and the wattled cabin or log-hut springs into existence. It is not uninteresting to find traces of a similar evolution in the church architecture of England ; but the resort to wood must not be regarded as any indication that stone and brick were not in use, but simply that a temporary building was urgently required, that the means of the builder were circumscribed, and that, therefore, the most accessible and easily-worked material was resorted to.

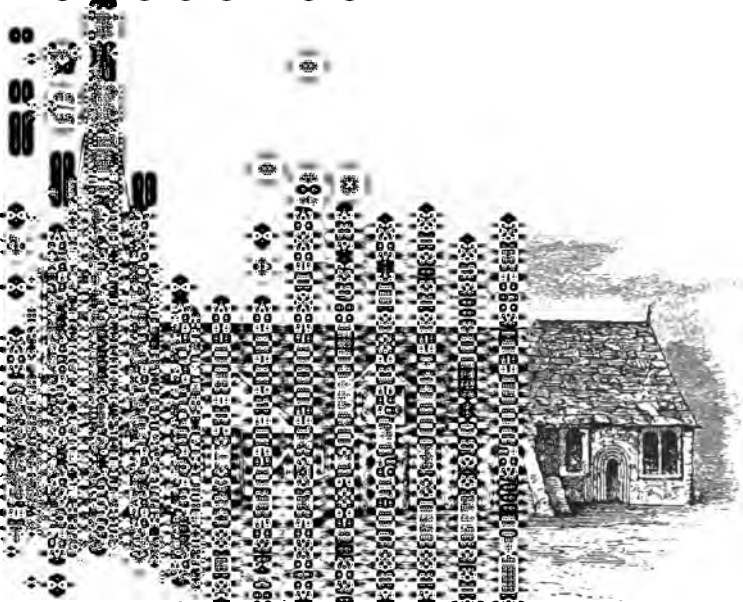
Glastonbury, that once princely pile, had such a beginning, and according to William of Malmesbury, was founded by Joseph of Arimathea, and consisted of a chapel, the walls of which were constructed of twisted osiers. This primitive building was undoubtedly the first Christian church erected in Britain, and ap-

parently was preserved with religious veneration, being in existence in the eleventh century. In 1032, Canute's Charter of Glastonbury was written at that place, in the *wooden church*, in His Majesty's presence, although the humble chapel had developed into a magnificent abbey, and covered with its sacred soil the bones of the heroic Arthur, and the wise and pacific Edgar. No doubt the original building was preserved by the monks, and in the midst of more pretentious and enduring buildings, was regarded with that peculiar love for holy things which rested with refining grace in the hearts of many of the shaven fathers, maugre the gluttony, pride, and narrow superstition of the many.

The darkness of paganism closed like midnight over the war-smitten land after the departure of the Roman legions, but the work of regeneration commenced when Augustine and Paulinus came to fan into living flame the few red embers that smouldered in the heart of the ashes. In the city of York, Paulinus built the timber church or baptistery of St. Peter the Apostle, which was afterward enclosed by a nobler and more commodious building of stone.

The church of Lindisfarne appears to have

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AS IN 1748).

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the cleft trunks of oak or chestnut trees, the lower ends of which rest upon a cill, the rudely bevelled tops being inserted into a groove. The split logs, placed side by side, form the rude walls, level in the interior, but presenting the half-rounded outside of the logs to winter storm and summer sun, as in the old times when the trees matured their strength in the primeval woods of Essex. As the years rolled on, the first rude erection was improved by the addition of chancel and spire; and when, in our own time, it was entrusted to the tender mercies of the restorer, the original timbers were retained in their proper position.

The church of Greensted, or, more properly speaking, the nave, is not only interesting on account of its primitive construction, but also for its historical associations. It appears to have been hastily constructed as a resting place for the body of St. Edmund, King of East Anglia, who fell by the hands of the Danes, during the ravages of Hinguar and Hubba, A.D. 870.

St. Edmund's martyrdom is thus related, in true monastic style, in Wendover's "*Flowers of History*":—"The most merciful King Edmund was then forcibly bound by the ministers of

iniquity, and led forth from the church before their wicked chief, as was Christ before the governor Pilate ; at whose command he was tied to a neighbouring tree ; after which he was scourged for a long time, and insulted with every species of mockery. But the undaunted champion of Christ, by continuing to call on him between every lash, provoked to fury his tormentors, who then in their mockery, using his body as a mark, shot at him with their bows till he was entirely covered with arrows, so that there was not a place in the martyr's body in which a fresh wound could be inflicted, but it was as completely covered with darts and arrows as is the hedgehog's skin with spines. And so the fierce executioner Hinguar, not being able to make the holy martyr Edmund relinquish his faith in Christ and the confession of the Trinity, so as at all to yield to his wicked persuasions, ordered one of his attendants to cut off the martyr's head with his bloody sword, whereupon the executioner, with one fierce stroke, severed his holy head from its trunk on the 20th day of November, as he was praying and confessing the name of Christ."

Head and body were cast among the thick briars of Haeilesdune Wood, by "these servants

of the devil." In the following spring, the Danes retired, and the relics of the King were collected. While searching for the head, the King's friends frequently called to each other, "Where are you?" when the martyr's head made answer in the same tongue, "Here, here, here," and did not cease repeating the same till it brought them all to the spot, where they found a huge and horrible looking wolf embracing the head with its paws, and keeping watch over the blessed martyr. A wooden chapel at Hagilsdun received the royal relics, which were afterwards removed to Bury, thenceforward known as Bury St. Edmunds.

The Danes overran the country A.D. 1010, and the relics of St. Edmund were carried to London for security, and there remained for about three years. The Bishop of London made a vain attempt to retain the saintly relics, but they were removed to Bury by Ailwin. During the return journey, "his body was lodged at Aungre, where a wooden chapel remains as a memorial." The village tradition that the body of a king once rested in Greensted Church supports the general belief that the nave of Greensted Church is the "wooden chapel" referred to.

The Burial of Harold at Waltham.

BY WILLIAM WINTERS, F.R.H.S.

THE place of interment of the last of the Saxon monarchs is a subject much controverted in the present day. Many historians appear to be entirely opposed to the most authentic version of the story, *i.e.*, that Harold was buried at Waltham Holy Cross (or Abbey).* They reject the authority of Malmesbury, Wendover, Matthew of Westminster, Wace, Higden, and a number of later authors for the fabulous tale current in the twelfth century, that Harold escaped from the field of Senlac pierced with many wounds, and with the loss of his left eye; and that he ended his days piously and virtuously as an anchorite at Chester.† Both Knighton and Brompton quote the same legend. William Pictaviensis, chaplain of the Conqueror, asserts that William refused to grant the body of Harold to his mother, who offered for it its weight in gold,‡

* See *Select Passages in the Life of Harold*, by W. Winters, 1876.

† *Giraldus Cambrensis*.

‡ Eleven thousand pounds. See Masers, in his *Gesta Guillelmi*.

ordering it to be buried on the sea-coast. In *Vita Haroldi* * Gurth, the brother of Harold, is said to have escaped alive ; he is represented, in his interview with Henry the Second, to have spoken mysteriously respecting Harold, and to have declared that the body of that prince was not at Waltham. Sir Henry Ellis, quoting from the Harl. Coll. MSS. 3776, justly observes that the whole statement was the fabrication of one of the secular canons ejected *circa* A.D. 1177.† It is, moreover, singular as Mr. Freeman notes, that some of the contemporary English writers are silent on the more important points associated with Harold's funeral, "England and her King," says this accurate historian, "had fallen, and they cared not to dwell on the details of sorrow. Not a word as to Harold's burial is to be found in the Saxon Chronicle, not a word in our English-hearted Florence. The English biographer of Edward, whose precious work has just been given to the world by the Master of the Rolls, does not even tell us in direct terms that Harold ever died or ever reigned ; from him we ask in vain for the burying-place of the second Judas

* Harl. MSS. 3776.

† See Malmesbury (Stevenson), p. 235.

Maccabæus."* In the *Vita Haroldi*, Harold is represented as having been found on the field of battle, among the dead and dying, by a Saracen woman, who concealed him at Winchester for two years. It then sends him on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and brings him back to England to spend a long life in retirement and austere penitence.† This life of Harold, says Bishop Stubbs, "is a curious but entirely untrustworthy legend," written apparently to prove that the great king was not buried at Waltham.‡ If we ask the monk of Malmesbury respecting the body of Harold, we are told that William surrendered it to Girtha (Harold's mother), with the view of its being interred at Waltham. Pictavensis informs us that a body, of which the features were undistinguishable, but supposed from certain tokens to be that of Harold, was found between the corpses of his brothers, Gurth and Leofwine, and that William caused this corpse to be interred in the sands of the sea-shore, saying, "Let him guard the coast which he so madly occupied;" nor was the king tempted by

* Trans. Essex Archæol. Soc., vol. ii., p. 34.

† *Odericus Vitalis*, vol. i., p. 487 (Bohn's Ed.).

‡ *De Inventionē Sanctæ Crucis*, p. xxx.

the gift of the sorrowing mother, or touched by her tears.

William of Malmesbury did not write altogether in the interest of Waltham. Freeman mentions him as a thoroughly independent witness, and says: "So, I may add, are Wace and his brother minstrels. So early and so extensive a fabrication as their narratives would imply seems to me quite out of the question. The most probable solution seems to be that Harold was first, by William's order, buried under a cairn, *aggere sub lapidum*, on the shore of Sussex, and was afterwards more solemnly interred in the minster at Waltham. The original order fell in alike with the passion and with the policy of the Conqueror; it suited him to brand the perjurer, the excommunicate, the despiser of the relics, with every possible mark of ignominy. But a season did come when William might well be disposed to yield to gentler counsels."

The abbot of Hyde and his twelve monks made a fruitless search for the body of the fallen king. Osegod and Ailric,* two canons of Waltham, who watched the battle, were engaged in the same

* A schoolmaster of the Abbey of Waltham, appointed by Harold.

pursuit, but their efforts were without effect. "The find" was in reserve for Eadgyth Swanneshals (Edith-with-the-Swan's-neck), Harold's wife, or "old love," who readily distinguished the mutilated corpse among the loathsome heaps of the unburied, from certain marks upon it well-known to her. This body, as being that of Harold's, was brought to Waltham, and there entombed at the *east end of the choir* (long since destroyed), with great honour and solemnity, many Norman nobles assisting in the requiem. Robert of Gloucester, a monk living at the time of the battle of Evesham, records Harold's burial in his famous chronicle :

"Harald's moder vor byr sone wel gerne hym
 bysgote,
 By messagers, & largelyche hym bed of ber
 thyng,
 To grante hyre sone body anertbe vor to bringe,
 Wyllam yt send byr vayre yuon wytboete
 enbyngne warnore,
 So that yt was born hyre with gret honour y
 bore,
 To the hous of Waltham, & ybrogt anertbe there,
 In the holy rode Chyrche, that he let hym
 sulf rere."

Speed, the historian, quoting from the Cottonian MSS., supports the statement respecting

William's grant of Harold's body to Girtha. The Waltham manuscript, *De Inventione Sanctæ Crucis*, contains a detailed account of the two canons of Waltham, how they watched the progress of the battle, and how they searched for the mangled body of Harold. Wace says (the edition of 1837): "King Harold was carried and buried at *Varham* [Waltham], but I know not who buried him."

*"Li Reis Herant en fu portez,
E à Varham fu enterrez,"*

which Malet translates thus :

"King Harold himself (though I know not by whom)
To Waltham was carried, and laid in the tomb."

A. le Prevost, commenting on the mode in which the body of Harold was disposed of, remarks on the difference of the terms employed by William of Poitiers and *Ordericus Vitalis* in narrating the same event.* He also observes that, according to William of Poitiers the Conqueror, after much entreaty, refused to give up the body of Harold to Girtha, but granted it to William Malet. *Ordericus Vitalis* says that the body was handed over (*traditus est*) to Malet. Monsieur Prevost prefers the phrase of *Ordericus*

* See M. Pluquet's edition, vol. ii., pp. 205-6.

Vitalis, not seeing any motive arising from *particular relations* between Harold and William Malet to induce the latter to make the demand implied by the term "granted," employed by William of Poitiers. He, however, adopts (says the translator of Wace's chronicle) the prevailing tradition that Harold's body was confided to Malet, and also that the interment was at Waltham; founding his belief on the concurrent testimony of William of Malmesbury and the Cottonian manuscript (Jul. d. vi.) of Waltham, now in the British Museum. The editor of Wace's chronicle considers the reason to be a simple one, why the body of Harold should be granted to Malet. On one hand, Malet was uncle to Harold's queen Alditha, and on the other, he was related to William of Normandy by his marriage with Hesilia Crespin.* Benoit de St. More writes in confirmation of William of Poitiers that the body of Harold was granted to William Malet, "at his earnest prayer, with permission to bury it where he pleased." The date of Wace's "Chronicle of the Norman Conquest"† is put down by good authority as

* *Vide* Master Wace's "Conquest of England" (Malet, 1860, 4to.), appendix i.

† *Reg.* iv., C. xi.

circa 1200. It formerly belonged to the library of Battle Abbey, for which it is said to have been made. The author clearly states on folio 271 that the body of Harold was carried to Waltham, and there buried.

The anonymous continuer of Bede's Chronicle says :

"Corpus Heroldi, matri petenti sine pretio misit, licet illa per legatos multum obtulisset. Acceptum itaque apud Waltham sepelivit; quam ipse Ecclesiam ex proprio constructam in honore sanctæ crucis Canonicis impleverat."

Hygden follows in the wake :

"Corpus Haroldi matri ejus id deposcenti, sine pretiis misit, quod ipsa apud Waltham Monasterium Canonorum quod ipse fundaverat sepelivit."

This is confirmed in volume three of the *Eulogium (Historiarum sive Temporis)* :

"Cronicon ab orbe conditio usque ad annum Domini M.CCC.LXVI." (p. 38).

The same has been recorded by Johannes de Oxenedes in his *Chronica* (edited by Sir Henry Ellis, p. 38) :

"Corpus vero Haroldi apud Waltham sepultus est, in ecclesia quam ipse ex proprio construxerat."

A poet of the thirteenth century writes (4635) :

“Through the prayer of his mother,
The body was carried on a bier ;
At Waltham it is placed in the tomb
For he was founder of the house.” *

An early work, supposed to have been written by Peter, of Ickham, relates :

“Le rei Harald cant il fust counte fist le eglise de la Sainte Croiz de Waltham hu son cors fu porte a pres la bataille, par le grant le duc Willame a la priere sa mere.”

Which is translated thus :

“King Harold, when he was earl, built the Church of St. Cross, at Waltham, whither his body was carried after the battle, by favour of the Duke William to his mother’s prayer.” †

See also *Chronica Monasterii S. Albani* :

“Anno Gratice Millesimo sexagesimo sexto, Haraldus filius Godwyni, die sexto Januarii, seipsum apud Westmonasterium Coronavit, qui, in octavo-decimo die Octobris in bello occisus, apud Waltham juxta Londonias tumulatur.” ‡ (See Malmesbury, ii., 420.) *“Et jacet sepultus in ecclesia canonicorum quam ipse fundaverat apud Waltham.”* §

In the *Annales de Wintonia*, edited by Luard, p. 27, it is stated of Harold after the battle, *quo*

* “Lives of Edward the Confessor,” etc., edited by H. R. Luard, M.A., p. 309 (1858).

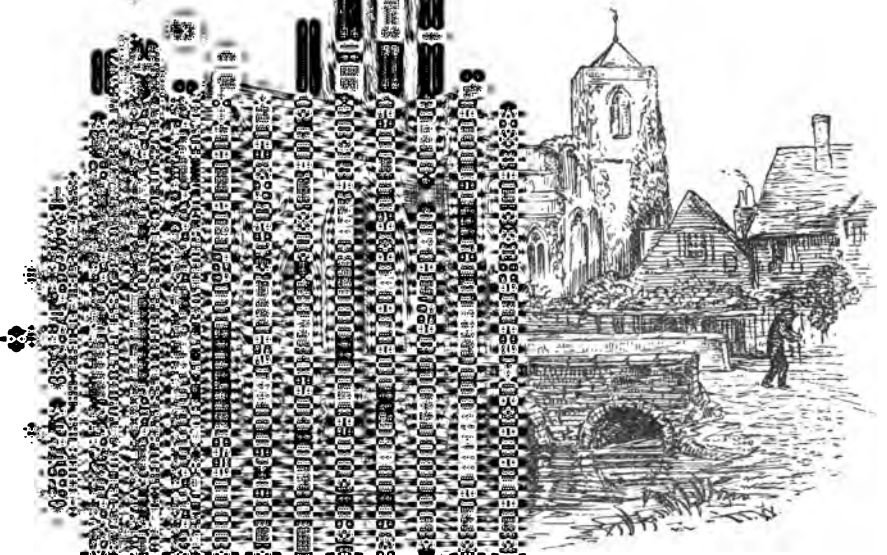
† *Le Livre de Reis de Brittain* (Glover), p. 136.

‡ Rishanger, *Chron. Mon. S. Albani. Chronica et Annales* (Riley), p. 427.

§ *Annales de Bermundeseia* (Luard), p. 424.

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Chronicle written by
the fifteenth century,
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osse of Waltham,

which he before had founded and sette therein chanons and gave vnto them fayre possessyons. And here endeth for a tyme ye blod of Saxons."

Strutt, quoting from an old work, notes, "Harold lies buried at Waltham."* Dr. T. Fuller says: "Let not therefore the village of Harold on the north side of Ouse, near Bedford (properly Harewood or Harelswood, on vulgar groundless tradition), contest with Waltham for this king's interment."† The early biographer of Harold (and monk of Waltham) "is driven," says Mr. Freeman, "to a very lame device indeed. He had to reconcile his beloved fiction of Harold's escape with the tradition of his abbey, which boasted of Harold's tomb. He is therefore driven to suppose that Eadyth found, and the chapter of Waltham buried—a wrong, an intruding supposititious carcase, which, down to his own time, had usurped the sepulchral honours of the last of the Saxon kings. Now this kind of stuff is simply abominable. It is neither history, nor romance, nor criticism, nor anything else, but simply a cock-and-bull story of the poorest kind." "To reconcile the details of the *De Inventione*

* See "Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of England," p. 6.

† "History of Waltham," p. 259 (Ed. 1840).

with the narrative of William of Poiton and the Carmen is quite impossible. The mission of Osgod and Ailric, and the intervention of Eadyth, at once become mythical. Pure invention they probably are not; the story has that local and personal circumstantiality which seems to imply some groundwork of truth. Indeed the fact mentioned by William of Poiton that Harold was *quibusdam signis nequaquam facie, recognitus*, curiously enough agrees with the Waltham tale of Eadyth. But that tale as a whole cannot stand; the search and discovery by Eadyth and the two canons clearly did not lead to an immediate burial at Waltham. But that Harold was, after all, really buried in his own minster I am strongly inclined to believe. If he was not, how did the tale arise? A tomb of Harold was one which there was very little temptation to forge.

“Harold was not an acknowledged saint, whose burial place would be a profitable place of pilgrimage. In the days of the Conquest, any attempt of the kind would have been put down with a strong hand. When the tomb of Waltheof at Croyland became the scene of miracle and

pilgrimage, the Conqueror acted as vigorously as the more recent French potentate :

‘ De par le Roi, defense à Dieu
De faire miracle en ce lieu.’

“ An imaginary tomb of Harold could only have been set up from motives strongly tinged with political feeling, which would have at once kindled the wrath of the Norman Government. In later times, when Norman fiction had had its own way, when Harold’s name had been effectually branded as perjurer and usurper, such a fabrication would have been still less likely. But we need not inquire into this, as Malmesbury shows that it was currently believed in the first half of the twelfth century that Harold was buried at Waltham.” *

Much of interest on Harold’s burial will be found in the works of Stow, Camden, Rapin, Thoyras, Rastell, Tyrell, Keighley, Turner, Lingard, Hume, and others. The critical remarks on Lappenberg’s “ History of England,” given in the *Quarterly Review* for 1835, are well worthy of a place here, likewise the MS. ballad quoted by the late Dr. Beattie on the Battle of Hastings and burial of Harold, but space forbids.

* “ Transactions of the Essex Archæological Society.” vol. ii., p. 36.

Although little dependance, as a rule, can be placed on the productions of poets and writers of legends as regard style and colour of character, yet from the more sober and less sentimental accounts already given on the burial of England's great king, there is really good ground for the belief that his remains were interred within the precincts of the church of Waltham, "which he let himself rear." Yet at the present day it is by no means easy to determine the exact spot of his first or last interment.

It is possible that during the several alterations which took place in the abbey church from the Norman conquest to the accession of King Henry the Second, the body of Harold may have been removed from its original position.

The writer of the *De Inventione* specifies that the tomb of Harold was near the *high altar*, and "at the translation of whose body for the *third time*, according as the state of the building of the church was such as to admit it, or the devotion of the brethren showing reverence to the body demanded it, I can just remember to have been present myself." *

* *De Inventione Sanctæ Crucis*, p. 31 (Stubbs).

"This Kyng Herolde at Waltham, which he found
Of foure score chanons full fayer was buried
At [the] hye aulter, and as a kyng was crownde,
All yf he were intrusor notified,
And in batayl slayne and victoryed
Of gentylnesse the Conquerour had so,
All yf he were afore his mortal fo."

Historians of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries have come to the conclusion—on the statement made by Dr. Fuller—that Harold was buried at Waltham, "near the Earl of Carlisle's* leaden fountain in his garden, then probably the end of the choir, or rather some eastern chapel beyond it; his tomb of plain but rich grey marble, with what seemeth a *cross-florée* (but much descanted on with art) upon the same, supported with pillarets, one pedestal whereof I have in my house."† There is still preserved in the north aisle of the church a coffin-shaped stone of very early date; on the centre is a cross in relief, nearly the full length and width of slab. This stone measures six feet nine inches in length, thirteen inches wide at the foot, and much wider at the head; it is not early enough for Harold, although some might suppose it to have been the

* James Hay, who attended James I. from Scotland on his accession to the throne.

† "History of Waltham" (Fuller), p. 259.

one described by Dr. Fuller. The stone* which Fuller says was in "my house"—the vicarage, north of the tower of the church—and purporting to be a portion of Harold's tomb, is in the north aisle of the abbey church, placed there by the late Mr. William Robert Clark.

This fragment of ironstone is considered by some to have formed a part of the Earl of Carlisle's fountain, and in no way connected with Harold's tomb. No doubt it was an ornamental part of the Earl's fountain; but Fuller, who lived near the spot so long, knew its history too well to suppose that it was carved on purpose for his worthy patron's garden fountain. John Farmer, living early in the last century, says this fragment, "I have now (1735) in my house. It is (he continues) a curious face or bust of grey marble, which by tradition always was, and is to this day, esteemed to be part of King Harold's tomb." This old townsman and author of the "*History of Waltham Abbey*," further says: "It is without dispute that he [Harold] was buried in the garden, under a leaden fountain, where now

* Dr. Uvedale, of Enfield, saw it at "Waltham Mill" (probably the old corn mill), in 1670.

there is a bowling-green, which formerly belonged to the Earl of Carlisle." *

Harold's Tomb.

We come now to the supposed spot where the remains of Harold were interred. Taylor in his *Eve of the Conquest* says—

"In Waltham Abbey on St. Agnes' Eve
A stately corpse lay stretched upon a bier.
The arms were cross'd upon the breast, the face,
Uncover'd by the tapers trembling light,
Showed dimly the pale majesty severe
Of him whom death, and not the Norman Duke
Had conquered ; him the noblest and the last
Of Saxon Kings ; save one the noblest he ;
The last of all." †

Both history and tradition determine the sacred place of Harold's burial as being about one hundred and twenty feet from the present east end of the church (the place of sepulture of ecclesiastics and men of high repute in the Middle Ages) and near the graves of J. Jessopp, Esq.; and Col. Edenborough. All that part of the churchyard on which the ancient choir of Harold's Church stood, and now called "the new ground," was evidently used as a garden by the Earl of

* "History of Waltham Abbey."

† *Edinburgh Review*, vol. lxxxix., p. 358.

Carlisle and Sir Edward Denny after the fall of the centre tower in the reign of Philip and Mary. This additional part of the churchyard was first used for interments early in the present century by permission of Sir William Wake, lord of the manor of Waltham Holy Cross.

Not a vestige of the tomb remains beyond the fragment on Robert Smith's marble tomb in the north aisle of the Abbey Church. The supposed inscription on Harold's tomb, expressive of the two words, *Harold infelix*, appears in the Harl. MSS. 3776, and is quoted by Weaver. The lines although not elegant are worth preserving here—

**“Deu cadis hoste fero, Rex, a Duce Rege Futuro,
Par paris in gladio, Milite et valido,
Firmini justi lux est tibi, luce Calixti;
Pronior hinc superas, hinc superatus eras,
Ergo tibi requiem deposcat utrunq; perennem
Sicque precetur cum, quot colit omne Deum.”**

Farmer has given the annexed translation—

“A fierce foe thee slew, thou a king, he a king in view,
Both peers, both peerless, both feared, and both fearless;
That sad day was mixed by Firmin and Calixt;
Th' one helpt thee to vanquish, t'other made thee to
languish,
Both now for thee pray, and thy requiem say,
So let good men all to God for thee call.”

Near the communion rails in the Abbey Church is a stone bearing the following inscription—

*"Hic Haroldi in Cænobio
Carnis Resurrectionem.
Expectat Jabocus Raphaël Gallus *
Denum Scotus demum Anglus,
Denique nihil,
Anno ætat, 70
Obit Mar. 30 Anno 1686."*

Rough portraits of Harold appear on the Bayeux Tapestry. Early in the seventeenth century a portrait of Harold adorned one of the windows in the north aisle of the Abbey Church.

* James Raphael was buried, April 1st, 1686, Par. Reg.

St. Osyth's Priory.

BY JOHN T. PAGE.

IN those far off days when England was divided into the seven kingdoms of the Saxon Heptarchy, Frithewald, the first Christian King of the East Angles, took to wife Walburga, daughter of Penda, King of the Mercians. In due time a daughter was born to them, who received the name of Osyth. During her early girlhood, Osyth's education was entrusted to Elfleda, a sister of Alfred, King of Northumbria, who resided at St. Modwen.* One day the young child accidentally fell into the river and was drowned, and her body lay in the water three days before it was recovered. Notwithstanding this, St. Modwen, the Saxon Saint, from whom the place received its name, came and prayed over it, and life was restored.

Soon after this remarkable episode, Osyth's parents betrothed her to Sighere, King of Essex, but her religious views developed in such a marked

* Probably Burton-on-Trent.

manner that in the end she chose rather to take the veil than to marry her royal lover. Her escape from matrimony was a very narrow one as will be seen. The wedding feast was in progress when suddenly a fine stag was observed to pass by the house. Sighere's enthusiasm for the chase was so great that he could by no means resist the prospect of a fine hunting expedition. Hastily summoning his followers by a blast on his horn, he mounted his steed, and hied him to the woods in pursuit of the stag. When he returned, his bride was missing, she having fled with her maids to the nearest religious house. Sighere, as a wise man, realised his position at once, and so far from resenting the loss of his lady love, he heartily sympathised with her resolve. After she had received the veil at the hands of Bishops Acca and Bedwin, Sighere placed at her disposal certain lands at Chich, where she founded a conventual establishment, into which she retired and became Lady Abbess.

Here with her nuns Lady Osyth peaceably lived until the year 653, when the Danes, under Inguar and Hubba, landed in a creek hard by the convent in search of plunder. Having sacked the convent, they came across the Lady Osyth

standing by a fountain in the Nun's Wood, not far away. These ferocious men surrounded the defenceless lady, and on her refusal to accompany them to their ship, at once struck off her head. What must have been their astonishment when they observed the lady tenderly pick up her head and walk away with it to the adjacent church! The door of the church was shut, but Lady Osyth knocked for admission with one of her blood-stained hands, and then fell dead on the threshold. Where her head lay a fountain of tears gushed out from the earth, and here the monks came and erected a monument, through the centre of which the water flowed for years in a continuous limpid stream. Modern vandalism has, however, long ago obliterated all traces of this fountain. For fear of the Danes, the Lady Osyth's body was removed at once to Aylesbury, near which town she was born, and here it remained for forty-six years. At the end of this time the remains were brought back to Chich, and after being placed in a precious casket by Maurice, Bishop of London, were reverently interred in the parish church. The Bishop of Rochester, who was present at the interment, was thereupon cured of an affliction from which he had suffered for many years.

Other miracles were performed by these relics of the holy Virgin, who thenceforth became known as the good Saint Osyth. On the authority of an old manuscript, it is stated that "In those dayes, when they went to bed they did rake up the fire and make a + in the ashes, and pray to God and St. Sythe (Osyth) to deliver them from fire and from water, and from all misadventure." *

Many versions of the foregoing legend are extant, notably the one given by the Rev. S. Baring Gould, in his "Lives of the Saints." These, however, rob the story of the *drowning* episode, and in its place substitute a very ordinary *rescue* from drowning. In such a case, where truth is of no consequence whatever, it certainly seems best to stick to the most sensational story. Faith forms such a small factor now-a-days in our lives that it matters not to us one jot whether these things be true or false, so long as the story is a good one.

Proceeding now to the more matter-of-fact and drier details of history, we note that although there is good reason for supposing that a lady named Osyth resided at Chich in Saxon times,

* Aubrey 113 roll.

there is no mention of any conventual establishment at this place recorded in Domesday Book. Probably, however, this arose from the fact that the building was totally destroyed by the Danes. Before the Conquest, the parish of Chich was granted by King Canute to the great Earl Godwin, and by him given to Christ Church, Canterbury. After the Norman supremacy, the Bishops of London long held it in possession.

About the year 1118, a monastery of the Order of St. Augustine was founded by Richard de Belmeis, Bishop of London. It was dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul, the Apostles, and to St. Osyth, virgin and martyr. William of Malmesbury, in mentioning the canons of this religious house, writes them down as "eminent in learning, and affording a noble example to the country round." Bishop Belmeis died on the 16th of June, 1127, and his body was interred within the Priory walls. The next abbot was William de Carbeuil, who afterwards became Archbishop of Canterbury, and died in 1136. His munificent benefactions to the Priory placed it in a position of supremacy amongst kindred institutions in the county.

In 1168, a charter was granted to the abbot and

canons, according to them free warren in Chich and several adjacent parishes, and also permission to keep four foxhounds and two harriers for hunting purposes. On the authority of Mr. J. Y. Watson, a local historian, this is the first recorded notice of fox-hunting in England. About this time they also obtained the right to hold a weekly fair or market, but on a representation being made by the people of Colchester that this fair was held on a Sunday, it was abolished in 1317. As an instance of increased degeneracy, we observe that in the reign of Richard II., an abbot of this Priory was imprisoned at Colchester for poaching on the King's preserves and killing his venison.

In the early days of the sixteenth century, the Priory again flourished under the judicious care of Abbot Vyntoner, who, amongst other good acts, pulled down the old and decayed buildings, and rebuilt the place in a sumptuous manner. Most of the old buildings which now remain, including the gateway, Abbot's Tower, etc., were erected at this period, and form notable examples of stability, notwithstanding the severe shaking they received during the earthquake which visited this part of Essex in 1884. The

fine oriel window which graces the front of the present mansion bears Abbot Vyntoner's rebus and initials many times on its surface, and over the top is the date of its erection, A.D. 1527. Many pieces of choice carving of this period may be seen amongst the heaps of stones which go to form grottos in various parts of the grounds.

In the reign of Henry VIII., at the suppression of the religious houses, St. Osyth's Priory was ruled by an abbot named John Colchester. He, with his sixteen canons, subscribed to the King's supremacy, on the 9th of July, 1534, and thus secured pensions for their lives. Henry handed over this rich possession, with the rectories of Great and Little Clacton, to Thomas Cromwell, afterwards Earl of Essex. On the execution of Cromwell for high treason, on the 28th of July, 1540, his estates again reverted to the Crown, and at his death were bequeathed by Henry to the Princess Mary. Reversion was granted by Mary, on the 4th of April, 1550, to Sir Thomas Darcy, who on the very next day was created Lord Darcy of Chich. Absolute possession of the estates was not gained by Lord Darcy until three years later, when, in consideration of a large sum of money paid down, and

several small properties thrown into the bargain, they were eventually made over to him and his heirs for ever, by a deed dated 1st June, 1553.

Queen Elizabeth twice visited St. Osyth's during its tenure by the second Lord Darcy, the first time on the 30th and 31st of July, 1561, and the second time while on a progress through Essex and Suffolk, in 1579, when she remained from the 29th of August to the 1st of September. In 1626, the third Lord Darcy was created Earl Rivers by Charles I., and dying, bequeathed all his estates to his daughter, Elizabeth, who, in 1641, became Countess Rivers in her own right.

This lady suffered severely during the Civil Wars, not only from her Royalist tendencies, but because she was a Roman Catholic. In 1642, a mob of Essex schismatics attacked and wrecked the Priory. Lady Rivers barely escaped with her life. She succeeded, however, in reaching Long Melford, but being pursued thither she fled to Bury St. Edmunds. The gates of the town were closed, but after some little delay she was allowed refuge within the walls. The next day her hazardous journey was continued to London, where she eventually arrived in safety.

Her troubles were, however, by no means over, for here she suffered much persecution. Her estates were sequestrated, and in 1650 she was imprisoned for debt. This seems to have been the last straw, for in March of the same year she died. The losses sustained by Lady Rivers have been estimated as exceeding £150,000.

For some time after this, St. Osyth's lay desolate, in fact it was not until the beginning of the Eighteenth Century that its owners used it as a residence. It was then in possession of Richard, fourth Earl Rivers, who dying, left his estates to his natural daughter Bessy. That remarkable boy, Richard Savage, who claimed the Countess of Macclesfield as his mother, was also son of this fourth Earl Rivers. Bessy Savage brought the estates into the Rochford family by her marriage with Frederick, the third Earl of the name. During his residence at St. Osyth's, Earl Rochford greatly beautified the place, and built most of the present mansion. He died at Zulestein, in Holland, in 1708.

We now come to the fourth Earl Rochford, who held many important public offices in the reigns of both George II. and George III. His

monument in the chancel of the parish church simply mentions that he was "Ambassador to the Court of France, A.D. 1763, Ambassador to the Court of Vienna, A.D. 1768, and Secretary of State to His Majesty King George the 3rd, A.D. 1776," but besides these high offices we may note that he had been Ambassador of Spain, was Vice-Admiral of the Coast of Essex in 1748, and Lord Lieutenant of the county in 1756. It is to this Earl Rochford that we are indebted for the introduction of the Lombardy poplar and the red-legged partridge into England. George III. was twice the guest of Earl Rochford at St. Osyth's. On both these occasions he had been to Colchester hard by to inspect the military camp. In remembrance of these visits, Lord Rochford was the recipient of two fine portraits of George III. and Queen Charlotte, in their coronation robes, painted by Allan Ramsay. These paintings still grace the picture gallery at the Priory. On his death, on Sept. 28th, 1781, Earl Rochford's estates passed into the hands of his natural son, Frederick Nassau, who died on July 3rd, 1845, leaving two sons, William Frederick and John. The former of these inherited his father's possessions, which on his death, in 1857, were

sold to various purchasers. Sir John Henry Johnson is the present owner of St Osyth's Priory, and has done and is still doing much to improve the place. Visitors are freely admitted to view the grounds and ruins at a fee of sixpence a head.

Though the Priory itself, strictly speaking, is not now in existence, there still remain some very striking indications of its past greatness. Noteworthy amongst these is the Abbot's Tower, the massive walls of which have stood "four-square to every wind that blows," for upwards of six hundred years. Amid the ruins which nestle round its base is the tiny crypt-like chapel in which a judicious restoration has revealed many valuable specimens of early Norman work, the concrete arches still looking as fresh and new as when the cement first hardened into stone.

The simplicity of this early work forms a striking contrast to the rich ornamentation of the massive gateway which occupies a conspicuous position at the entrance to the grounds. Constructed of hewn stone and flint, covered with the most delicate tracery and sculpture, and alcoved with choicely canopied niches, it may well be considered the most interesting, though not the oldest,

portion of the Priory buildings. Standing beneath the groined archway of this old gateway, and gazing across the space which intervenes between it and the still older Abbot's Tower, is like taking a look across the centuries. If only we could for a time re-people the place with those whose lives were in any way connected with it what a motley throng would rise before our eyes. But idle fancies such as these are only to be found in poet's dreams! To the ordinary mortal it is but the humble mason and nameless sculptor who, through the dim ages, make their influence felt.

Colchester in Olden Times.

By JOSEPH W. SPURGEON.

COLCHESTER may fairly claim the distinction of being the oldest town in England. That is to say, not that its existing buildings are the oldest in the country, but that its beginning as a town can be traced back to an earlier date than that of any other.

It makes its first appearance in actual history under the name of Camulodunum, the seat of the great British king Cunobelin, who began to reign over the Trinobantes about the year 5 B.C. How long previously this tribe had occupied the place as their stronghold can only be conjectured, but in 55 B.C., when Julius Cæsar landed in Britain, they inhabited the same district, corresponding with the present county of Essex, and therefore we may infer that Camulodunum existed even at that early date. But before Cunobelin's time it was not so much a town as a large fortified enclosure, which, it is supposed, occupied a considerably larger area than the present town,

covering, in fact, nearly twenty square miles, bounded by the river Colne on the north and east, on the south by the "Roman river," and on the west by a line of earthworks—now called "Gryme's Dyke"—crossing Lexden Heath from one stream to the other.

Cunobelin, under whom the place developed into something more like a town, appears to have been a son of Tasciovanus, chief of the Cassii, whose father was the famous Cassivellaunus. During the lifetime of Tasciovanus, Cunobelin conquered for himself the kingdom of the Trinobantes, and took up his residence at Camulodunum. At his father's death the Cassii were added to his dominions, which eventually extended as far west, probably, as Oxfordshire. He had a coinage, minted at Camulodunum, which in its later issues was of a type distinctly Roman, both in design and execution. The Roman tastes thus indicated doubtless influenced his general mode of living, and evidently he was the most civilised and prosperous of the native princes of his time. Shakespeare has immortalised him in "*Cymbeline*," a play abounding with anachronisms, but no doubt founded on the half-imaginary history of Geoffrey of Monmouth. Cunobelin died, after a

reign of about forty-five years, shortly before the second Roman invasion.

In the year 43 A.D., Aulus Plautius, having landed without opposition, led his forces inland in pursuit of the natives, who had retreated into their almost impenetrable forests. At last he met the enemy, who were under the command of Cunobelin's two sons—Caractacus and Togodumnus—and defeated them. The Britons retreated across the Thames, somewhere near the site of London, only to be followed by the Romans, who were again victorious. Among the slain was Togodumnus; Caractacus retreated westward, and for nearly eighteen years still held out against the invaders.

After the battle, the Roman general sent for the emperor to come and follow up his success. Claudius, nothing loth, came with all haste. On his arrival, he fought and won a battle with the natives, and captured Camulodunum. Several neighbouring tribes now submitted to him, and, leaving Aulus Plautius in charge of the new province, Claudius hurried back to Rome, to boast of his conquests and receive abundant honours.

About the year 47, Plautius was recalled, and

was succeeded by Ostorius Scapula. This great general, acting under the emperor's orders, founded a colony of veterans at Camulodunum, "as a defence against the rebels, and as a means of imbuing the allies with respect for the Roman laws." Thus Camulodunum became the first Roman station in Britain. It received the titles of *Claudiana* and *Victricensis*, to perpetuate the name and triumph of Claudius. In addition to their own houses, the colonists erected several public buildings—a senate-house, a theatre, and, by the directions of Claudius, a temple dedicated to himself. In the centre of the town was a statue of Victory, to commemorate the emperor's achievement, of which he was not a little proud. Thinking, apparently, that they were able to repel any possible attack, the veterans constructed no fortifications. It really seemed as if their confidence were justified, for they held their position here for some thirteen years. Feeling thus secure, they did not hesitate to enrich themselves at the expense of the unfortunate natives, who suffered through these years of misery all kinds of oppression, extortion, and violence at the hands of their unprincipled conquerors.

But the colonists at length brought upon them-

selves a terrible retribution. A series of brutal insults and outrages, perpetrated upon the persons and property of Boadicea, the widowed queen of the Iceni, and her two daughters, caused the smouldering fire of hatred to burst suddenly into a fierce flame of revenge. The Iceni, joined by the Trinobantes and several other tribes, broke unanimously into open revolt ; and the insurgents, led by Boadicea, bore down in irresistible numbers upon Camulodunum. Suetonius, then governor of Britain, was in North Wales, with the bulk of the army, in pursuit of Caractacus. Petilius Cerealis, with the ninth legion, marched to the rescue, but arrived too late ; Camulodunum, defenceless as it was, had been destroyed, and the inhabitants massacred to a man. Cerealis was met by the triumphant natives, and was himself defeated ; Londinium and Verulamium (which had become important towns) fell likewise before the fury of the Britons.

At this critical juncture Suetonius appeared on the scene with his army, and soon changed the aspect of affairs. Coming upon the insurgents, in a vast host far outnumbering his own, he attacked them, and in one tremendous and decisive battle completely routed them. It is

supposed by some that this encounter took place in the neighbourhood of Epping Forest, but by modern authorities it is thought that a site nearer Colchester is more probable.

The Roman supremacy in the island was thus re-established at a single stroke ; but at what a terrible sacrifice of human lives ! In this one fight some 80,000 Britons perished. Adding to this number the 90,000 Romans and allies who had been massacred by the natives, we have an amount of bloodshed produced by this outbreak which has surely never been equalled in the history of this country.

Soon after peace was restored, Camulodunum was re-occupied by the Romans, but this time, mindful of the lesson they had been taught, they fortified the place. Though it became a prosperous town, it ceased from thenceforth to be the military capital of the province, and disappears from history until the beginning of the tenth century. But the Romans left behind them something more tangible than history. The walls with which they surrounded the town remain to the present day, almost intact, and the Roman relics discovered in the locality form a collection unrivalled in England.

Geoffrey of Monmouth, that ingenious fabricator of history, asserts that Colchester was the birthplace of the empress-saint Helena; her father, Coel,—the “Old King Cole” of the popular song—was king of Colchester, and surrendered to the Roman power, represented by Constantius; on the death of her father without male issue, Helena was married by Constantius, and the two reigned at Colchester, where Constantine the Great, their son, was born. Such, in brief, is the story, which, though entirely legendary, was implicitly believed by the good folk of Colchester in the middle ages. Helena became the patron saint of the town, and a chapel was dedicated to her. The arms of the borough, a cross and three crowns, commemorate her “Invention of the Cross,” evidently not the only invention connected with her name. York, Trèves,* and Bithynia, each claim to be the birthplace of Helena, but it is now known that she was a native of Naissus in Mœsia, where Constantine was born long before his father came to Britain.

Discarding, therefore, this legend, we have, after Boadicea’s revolt in A.D. 62, a break of about

* The famous “Holy Coat of Trèves” is said to have been discovered by Helena at Jerusalem, and presented by her to the town.

850 years in the history of Colchester. That the Saxon invasion and occupation of Essex took place soon after the Roman evacuation in 410 seems certain, but there is no record of the events. The name which the Saxons gave to the town shows that when they came the Roman *Colonia* had not been forgotten. *Colonia* they abbreviated into *Colne*,* and added to it *ceaster*, the term by which they described the Roman fortified towns. It was their ignorance of this derivation which led Geoffrey of Monmouth, Robert of Gloucester, and other writers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries to connect the first syllable of "Colneceaster" with the name of the legendary Coel.

It is not until the year 921, when the Danes had taken the place of the early Saxon settlers, that we have any definite information about Colchester. It had then been for some time occupied as one of their chief fortresses by the Danes, who, unlike the Saxons, appreciated walled towns. But the same year saw them driven out by the people of Kent, Surrey, and Essex, who took Colchester, though not without

* Cologne (German *Köln*), whose Roman name was *Colonia Agrippina*, obtained its present appellation by exactly the same process.

severely damaging its fortifications. The capture of this stronghold seems to have been the death-blow to the Danish power. Before long King Eadward with his army came to Colchester, repaired and rebuilt the town, and received the submission of the East Saxons. Ten years later, Æthelstan held a *Witanagemót* here.

In the time of William I., we find Colchester under the rule of one of the Conqueror's special favourites, Eudo of Rie, the *Dapifer* or Seneschal of Normandy. The king conferred upon him all the Crown properties and revenues of the town, to which William Rufus added an estate in Greensted, across the river. Besides this he held over sixty manors, of which twenty-five were in Essex. Eudo was greatly beloved and respected by the townspeople for his justice and generosity. Colchester Castle, whose ruined keep still stands, a monument of his greatness, was built by him about the year 1076; twenty years later he founded the Benedictine monastery of St. John, outside the walls on the south of the town. He also built a hospital for lepers. On his death in 1120 at his castle of Préaux in Normandy, his body was brought over to Colchester, and buried in St. John's Abbey.

Soon after the foundation of the abbey, St. Botolph's Priory was built near it by one Ernulf, for the Order of Canons Regular of St. Augustine. This was not only the first monastery of the Order in England, but it received authority from the Pope over all the other English houses of the same class. The presence of the Abbey and the Priory, besides Eudo's great establishment at the Castle, naturally gave an impetus to the prosperity of the town, which continued until the Reformation. The grants made to Eudo appear to have been only for his lifetime, for when he died his possessions in Colchester, including the Castle, were appropriated by the king. But though it had lost its great benefactor, Colchester continued to thrive. St. John's Abbey became one of the most powerful in East Anglia. It was free from all outside jurisdiction, and was granted many special privileges and immunities. Its abbot was one of the twenty-eight in England entitled to wear a mitre.

In 1189 Richard I. gave the borough its first charter, by which it gained many advantages. In the next reign it attained considerable importance on account of its great Castle. William de

Lanvalei was constable of the Castle in November, 1214, when it was visited by King John. Finding that Lanvalei was not inclined in his favour, the king sent one Stephen Harengoot to take his place, but in the following summer, after John had signed Magna Charta, Harengoot had to give place again to Lanvalei. In November, part of the forces of Louis of France, who had come at the invitation of the barons, landed in Suffolk, and about 200 of them were added to the garrison at Colchester. After a three months' siege the Castle was surrendered to King John, and once more Harengoot was installed. This was in March, 1216. Soon after the king's death, which occurred seven months later, the constablership of the Castle was restored to the supporters of the barons, subsequently being held by Hubert de Burgh, whose son had married the heiress of Lanvalei. A similar transference of the office took place in the reign of Henry III., when Roger Bigod, the Earl Marshal, was given the post by the adherents of Simon de Montfort, who had ousted from it the king's favourite, Guy de Rochefort, but after the final defeat of the Earl of Leicester at Evesham, in 1265, it was conferred

upon Thomas de Clare, brother of the Earl of Gloucester.

From this time until the Great Civil War nothing of historical importance occurred at Colchester; but we have on record several matters of local interest, which give a fair idea of the condition and development of the town at various stages of that long period.

A Taxation Commissioners' return of the year 1300 gives a remarkably full account of the inhabitants of Colchester, with all their household belongings. From the particulars it contains, it is computed that the population was a little over 2,000, about the same as it had been at the time of the Domesday Survey. The chief industries were the allied ones of tanning and shoemaking. About the year 1180, a company of wealthy Jews had settled here, numbering eventually about fifty persons. They were expelled from the country in 1290, so that when this taxation was made Colchester had lost some of its richest inhabitants. Nevertheless it increased rapidly, and by 1377 its population had doubled. Its ecclesiastical establishments had been added to by Robert Fitzwalter, who founded a Franciscan Friary in 1309; there was also a convent of

Crutched Friars, founded by William de Lanvalei early in the thirteenth century. The sixteen parish churches must all have been in existence by this time. While these foundations were in progress, a trade in woollen goods had developed, probably owing to the immigration of Flemish weavers.

In 1403-4, the abbot of St. John's, one Geoffrey Story, was implicated in a conspiracy to replace Richard II. on the throne—a plot doomed from the first to failure, because Richard had already been dead four years. The scheme was discovered, and Geoffrey seems to have lost his abbotship.

Edward IV. visited Colchester, and made valuable additions to its charter. In 1516, another royal visitor, Queen Katherine of Arragon, spent a night in St. John's Abbey on her way to Walsingham.

The Reformation of 1535-9 brought about great changes in Colchester; the suppression of its religious houses removed the chief means of its support without conferring any compensating advantages. St. John's Abbey was razed to the ground, as were all the Priory buildings except the church, which, being also a parish church, was

allowed to remain. The last abbot of St. John's, by name John Beche, was attainted of high treason, and seems to have been an awkward man to deal with; according to tradition, the town magistrates had to resort to a stratagem in order to effect his arrest. They invited him to a feast, "and when he arrived, informed him of the royal warrant, and hanged him without further ceremony."

On the death of Edward VI. the people of Colchester supported the claim of Mary to the throne, and in 1553 they welcomed the queen to their town; but, in spite of its loyalty, Colchester became quite a stronghold of "heresy." During this reign of bigotry and persecution no less than nineteen persons were burnt here. It may have been this strong Protestant element which led to the settlement of Dutch refugees in the town in the reign of Elizabeth. In 1570 they formed here one of the "Dutch Congregations"—of which there were eight in England—consisting of about 200 persons. Colchester was well rewarded for its hospitality. Its guests brought wealth with them, and by the introduction of new manufactures, especially of "bays and says" (*i.e.*, baize and serge), resuscitated its prosperity, which

had received such a severe check at the Reformation. Colchester became famous for the production of these goods, and by 1579 was sufficiently well-to-do to give a worthy reception to Queen Elizabeth, who spent two days within its walls.

Through the two following reigns the trade of Colchester flourished, and the burgesses enjoyed in peace the benefits derived therefrom. In 1635 Charles I. granted the borough a new charter, which gave it a mayor instead of two bailiffs. By this time the people of Colchester doubtless imagined their misfortunes were at an end ; but the severest of all had yet to come. What these troubles were, and what resulted from them, will be related in the next chapter.

The Siege of Colchester.

BY JOSEPH W. SPURGEON.

IN the early part of 1648, Charles, unwilling to yield without a final struggle, had concluded his secret negotiations with the Scots which led to the Second Civil War. The Duke of Hamilton mustered the Scottish forces, and marched across the Border, where he was joined by the English Cavaliers, under Sir Marmaduke Langdale. There were other formidable risings in favour of the king, especially in the south-eastern counties.

On June 1st Fairfax defeated the Kentish Royalists at Maidstone. Another body of Royalists under the newly-created Earl of Norwich (better known as Lord Goring), who were marching to join their friends, on hearing of their defeat turned aside to Blackheath, intending to enter London, but Fairfax pressed them so closely that they crossed the Thames into Essex, arriving at Chelmsford on June 9th. Here they were strengthened by a body of Essex horse, commanded by Sir Charles Lucas of Colchester,

and a party of Hertfordshire men under Lord Capel. The united forces, numbering some four thousand men, now marched to Colchester, and after a short struggle with the inhabitants forced their way into the town on the afternoon of June 12th. The resistance of the townspeople arose from the fact that their sympathies were on the side of the Parliament. They had helped to form the "Eastern Counties Association," and from 1642 to 1648 had contributed no less than £30,000 to the Parliamentary cause. Their uninvited guests therefore met with but scant welcome.

The plan of the Royalists was to occupy Colchester for a few days, until their northern allies should reach the Midlands; meanwhile keeping Fairfax fully employed, and thus preventing his junction with Cromwell. But Fairfax had followed them more rapidly than they expected. On the 11th he reached Brentwood; leaving his army to continue the march, he fetched Sir Thomas Honeywood, with 2,000 Essex volunteers, from Coggeshall, and by the 13th, less than a day after Goring's seizure of Colchester, the whole of his forces had arrived before its walls. A peremptory demand for

surrender was sent to Goring, which he disdainfully refused, and forthwith Fairfax attempted to carry the town by assault, but after a stubborn contest, with severe loss on both sides, he was repulsed. This was the only defeat, says Mr. Malden, that Fairfax ever encountered. He then determined to compel the Royalists to surrender, and proceeded at once to beleaguer the town. It was ill-prepared for a siege, and its defenders had had too little time to lay in sufficient provisions.

Within seven days the investment was all but complete. The approaches to Colchester by road and river were secured ; on the west and south a continuous line of earthworks was erected, and the north side of the river was guarded by detached forts. The Royalists had meanwhile been busy. Several of the larger buildings were adopted by them as defensive posts, such as the Abbey gateway, Grimston's house, the Priory church, and the churches of St. Leonard-at-Hythe and Greensted. Batteries were placed at intervals round the walls. Their most important outposts were the Hythe and Greensted, especially the latter, because it gave them access to the district on the east, which they foraged for supplies.

On the 20th the arrival of the Suffolk volunteers considerably augmented the strength of the besiegers. On July 1st they assisted Col. Whalley in the capture of Greensted church and the mill at East Bridge, thus completing the investment, and on the 14th they took the Hythe. By the next day the defenders had to retreat within the walls, leaving the outer portions of the town in the enemy's hands. Fairfax now made the Hythe his headquarters, and prepared to starve the enemy into surrender. A number of bold but unsuccessful sallies were made by the besieged, the last one being on the 27th July.

For a month after this the siege continued. Fairfax, confident of the eventual submission of the Royalists, contented himself with holding the positions he had gained ; while the garrison still held out in the hope of the Scottish forces coming to their relief. By the end of July most of the food had gone, and a diet of horseflesh commenced. The non-belligerent inhabitants petitioned Fairfax to allow them to leave the town, but he said his trust did not permit him to do so, as it would enable the garrison to hold out the longer. So things went on until the 24th of

August, when the news arrived of the defeat of Hamilton and Langdale at the battle of Preston ; which tidings Fairfax conveyed to the besieged by means of a kite flown over the walls.

The Royalist officers, seeing that all hope of relief was now destroyed, decided to make one last desperate effort to break through the enemy's lines ; but the common soldiers were mutinous, being in favour of accepting the terms of surrender offered by Fairfax, viz. :—all under the rank of captain should have “ fair quarter,” the superior officers “ surrendering to mercy ;” and having discovered that their officers intended to desert them, they forcibly prevented them leaving the town. Seven hundred and fifty horses having been slaughtered and eaten, only a few were now left, and all other provisions were gone. There was therefore no course open to them but to capitulate, which they did on Sunday, 27th of August ; and at two o'clock in the afternoon Fairfax entered the town in triumph. Thus ended the memorable siege of Colchester, which had lasted seventy-six days.

On Monday morning the Royalist soldiers gave up their arms, and were disbanded, while the chief officers “ surrendered to mercy.” This

term Fairfax afterwards explained thus :—
“Delivering upon Mercy, is to be understood that some are to suffer, the rest to go free.” A council of war was held in the Moot Hall the same day, and it was decided that the following officers should be executed :—Col. Farre, Sir Bernard Gascoigne, Sir Charles Lucas, and Sir George Lisle. The first-named contrived to escape ; the second, though he was led out to execution, was found to be an Italian, and on this account was set free at the last moment. Lucas and Lisle, having been prisoners before, were condemned on the charge of breaking their *parole*.

At seven o'clock in the evening they were brought out to the open green space on the north side of the Castle, to be shot. Lucas was chosen to be first. When all was ready, he remarked, “I have often faced death in the field, and now you shall see I dare die.” Then after a few minutes of prayer, he opened his doublet, and called out, “See, I am ready for you ; now, rebels, do your worst !” Upon which they fired, and he fell, shot in four places. Sir George Lisle was now brought to the spot, and knelt and kissed his friend's body. After some last messages to his

relatives, he said to those who stood by, "Oh! how many of your lives here have I saved in hot blood, and must now myself be most barbarously murdered in cold blood? But what dare they not do, that would willingly cut the throat of my dear King, whom they have already imprisoned; and for whose deliverance, and peace to this unfortunate nation, I dedicate my last prayers to Heaven." He then desired the soldiers to come closer; one of them said, "I'll warrant you, sir, we'll hit you." "Friends," he replied, "I have been nearer you, when you have missed me!" Then he prayed, and when he was ready, said, like his friend, "Now, traitors, do your worst!" and was shot dead.*

The execution of these two men occasioned considerable comment. Ireton was generally regarded as the instigator of the deed, and Fairfax was severely criticised for allowing it. He seems indeed to have regretted it, though he justified himself by showing, not only that it was in accordance with the terms of surrender, but that Lucas and Lisle had, by their breach of *parole*, forfeited all claims to mercy.

Lord Norwich (Goring) and Lord Capel were

* Morant, History of Essex.

sent to Windsor Castle, and tried at Westminster Hall in 1649. Capel was beheaded, but Goring, though he had been so zealous in the Royal cause, was saved by the Speaker's casting vote.

The bodies of the two knights were buried privately in the Lucas family vault in St. Giles's church. Their funeral service did not take place until the Restoration in 1661, when a large slab was placed over the vault, with a deeply-cut inscription, which, as I have not yet seen it correctly quoted, I here give in full :—

VNDER THIS
MARBLE LY THE
BODIES OF THE
TWO MOST VALI
ANT CAPTAINS,
S^r CHARLES
LVCAS AND S^r
GEORGE LISLE
KNIGHTS, WHO
FOR THEIR EMI
NENT LOYALTY
TO THEIR SOVE
RAIN, WERE ON
THE 28TH DAY OF AV
GUST, 1648, BY THE
COMMAND OF S^r
THOMAS FAIR
FAX, THEN GENE
RAL OF THE PAR
LIAMENT ARMY, IN
COLD BLOVD BARBA
ROUSLY MVRDERD.

The slab measures about eight feet by three feet six inches, and is of black marble.

The people of Colchester were the greatest sufferers from the siege. Not only had numbers of them been starved to death, but many of the survivors had had their homes and property destroyed; and now, to make matters worse, a fine of £14,000 was imposed upon them. £4,000 of this was remitted, and the rest of Essex had to pay another £5,000, so that the actual fine was reduced to £5,000, of which £1,000 was distributed among the poor of the town, £2,000 went to the Essex volunteers, and the same amount to the rest of the troops. In spite of the reductions, it is difficult to see any justification for any such imposition, when it is remembered how generously the townspeople had supported the Parliamentary cause, and how they had opposed the entrance of the Royalists. When Evelyn visited Colchester, in July, 1656, he described it as "a fair town, but now wretchedly demolished by the late siege, especially the suburbs." The spot where the two officers were shot was shown to him, and he was told that no grass would grow upon it; perhaps some ardent Royalist took good care it should not. De Foe, in

1724, wrote, "the story is now dropp'd and the grass, I suppose, grows there as in other places," which nowadays it certainly does.

Before Colchester had recovered from the siege another misfortune befel it, in the shape of a terrible visitation of the great Plague of 1665-6, which carried off no less fewer 4,731 of its inhabitants. In one week in June, 1666, 195 persons died. Pepys has a note in his Diary, dated July 4th, 1666, as follows:—"Thanks be to God, the plague is, as I hear, encreased but two this week; but in the country in several places it rages mightily, and particularly in Colchester, where it hath long been, and is believed will quite depopulate the place."

In 1728, the Dutch settlers dissolved their Congregation, their trade having declined; but the manufacture of baize was still the staple industry of the town at the beginning of the present century. Since then Colchester has thriven, partly through its being the chief town of an important agricultural district, and particularly owing to the extensive military barracks which have been erected. The oyster fishery in the Colne should be mentioned as one of the principal things for which Colchester

is famous. It has been from time immemorial the property of the corporation, and the annual banquet at the election of the mayor, in which the bivalves figure largely, is known as the "Oyster Feast."

The last noteworthy occurrence was an earthquake, which happened on April 22nd, 1884, and did great damage, though no lives were lost. The top of the spire of the Congregational Church came down with a crash, and several other churches were injured. A Mansion-house Fund was started, and reached nearly £9,000, which was judiciously distributed in the town and adjacent district. This is the second earthquake which has visited Colchester, one having taken place on Sept. 8th, 1692.

Colchester : Its Historic Buildings and Famous Men.

BY JOSEPH W. SPURGEON.

HOW much of its charm history would lose if there were no ancient buildings or relics remaining, to confirm and vivify the facts of the past and link them on to the present !

The history of this town, however, does not lack such mementos, for modern Colchester is rich in relics of its bygone days. Of these the most important are the Roman remains. The walls of the town are more perfect than any others in England. They are constructed of alternate layers of stones and bricks, about four courses to each layer, bonded together with the splendid cement, harder than stone, which the Romans knew so well how to make. The stones are of a soft chalky species found in the neighbourhood, called *septaria*, much less durable than the red flat Roman bricks, which, after the wear and tear of eighteen hundred years, seem as good as ever. The best-

preserved portions of the walls are at the north-east and north-west corners; the south wall has suffered most, perhaps because it was not strengthened like the others by a rise of the ground within, and because it has had to bear the brunt of most of the attacks on the town. The average present height of the walls is ten feet; the thickness varies from seven to ten feet. It is evident that they were originally some ten feet higher, but the upper part was not so thick as the lower, and has nearly all disappeared. The enclosed space is a parallelogram, measuring about 1000 yards from east to west, and about 500 from north to south, the area being $108\frac{1}{2}$ acres. Crossing this space were two principal streets, one in each direction, intersecting at right angles near the western end of the town. At the ends of these streets were four gates, of which only the western one now exists. It consists of an arch eleven feet wide, and parts of two smaller ones; a bastion divided into two apartments protects it on its southern side.* Though probably the chief entrance in Roman times, it appears to have been since then entirely disused,

* This and Newport Gate at Lincoln are the only remaining Roman town-gates in England.

to which circumstance it owes its preservation, the other three gates having disappeared before the growth of modern traffic. In addition to these principal entrances there were at least five posterns, two on the north, two on the south, and one on the west; four of these are still in use, though they are now only breaches through the wall.

Of Roman buildings other than the walls there are no remains excepting tessellated pavements—of which nearly forty have been discovered—but evidences of them appear on every hand in the shape of Roman bricks, which have been largely used by the mediæval builders, the ruins of Camulodunum affording them an abundant supply of excellent material. The number of Roman ornaments, domestic utensils, cinerary urns, coins, etc., which have been exhumed is very large; many of them are rare, and some unique, as, for instance, the “Colchester Urn,” a piece of Caistor or Durobrivæan ware, ornamented with figures of gladiators and animals; several fine glass vessels, especially one of white glass with embossed figures representing the Olympic races; the effigy of a centurion named Marcus Favonius, carved in high relief, with an epitaph, on a stone

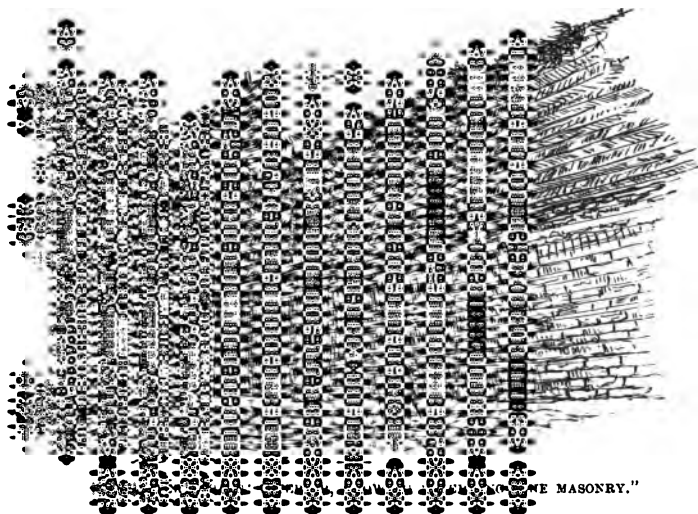
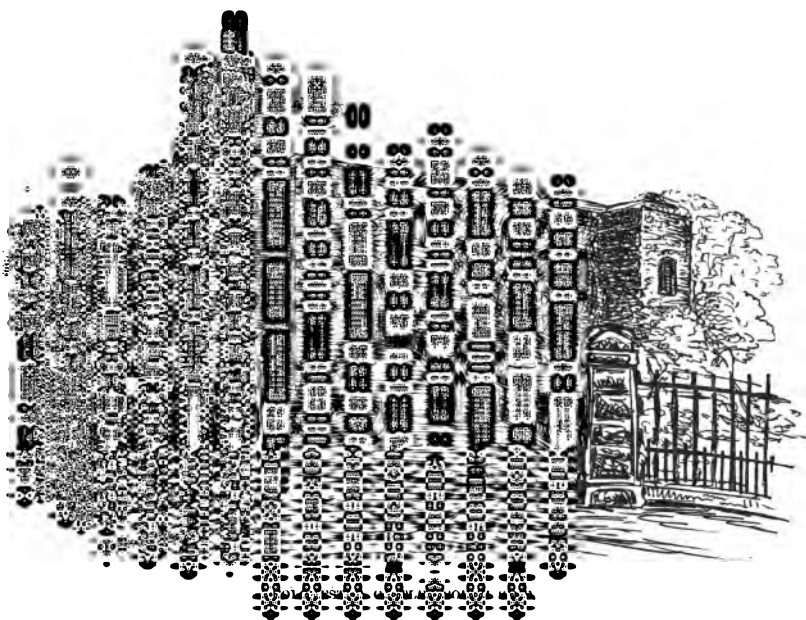
ave; an altar
the Matres
of a Sphinx
ase, over four
unds; and a
Conservator.

IN THE CHURCH OF ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST, CHESTER.

all of great
ous to mention.
are almost as
one is worth
Holy Trinity
from Saxon

times. It is square, of very rough and primitive construction, and composed largely of Roman bricks. Over the small doorway in its western side is a good example of the Saxon triangular-headed arch, which in this instance is built of bricks placed edgewise instead of the two long stones generally used.

Situated near the centre of the town, on slightly-rising ground, is the most interesting building of Colchester, the keep of Eudo's great Castle. It is of great size, being, in fact, the largest Norman keep in England; measuring 155 by 113 feet, it covers nearly double the area of the White Tower of London. Its plan so closely resembles that of the latter that the two must have been built from the same design. In Colchester Castle the upper story is wanting, having been thrown down in 1683 by one John Wheely, who bought the building for the express purpose of pulling it down; but fortunately the lower part escaped destruction, as it was so strong that he found its demolition would be too expensive. The walls are, in places, thirty feet thick at the base, and all the lower parts are of solid masonry. A noticeable peculiarity of the Castle is that it is constructed almost exclusively



"THE MASONRY."

of Roman bricks and cement-stones; and the Norman builders have appropriated not only these materials but the Roman method of disposing them in alternate layers, which has led some people to think that the building is Roman. The principal entrance is on the south side, through a fine Norman archway. The interior of the keep is roofless, and only one internal wall remains, its upper half consisting of Roman bricks arranged in "herring-bone" fashion. The staircase, just inside the entrance, is of unusual width, being sixteen feet in diameter. The former chapel of the Castle, on the first floor at the south-east corner, is now occupied by the Museum, containing one of the most valuable collections of Roman antiquities in England. In an adjoining room is a natural history collection; another room is devoted to the Library, of which the chief treasures are the books bequeathed to the town, in 1631, by Archbishop Harsnett of York, who was a native of Colchester. Many of these books are exceedingly rare and curious.

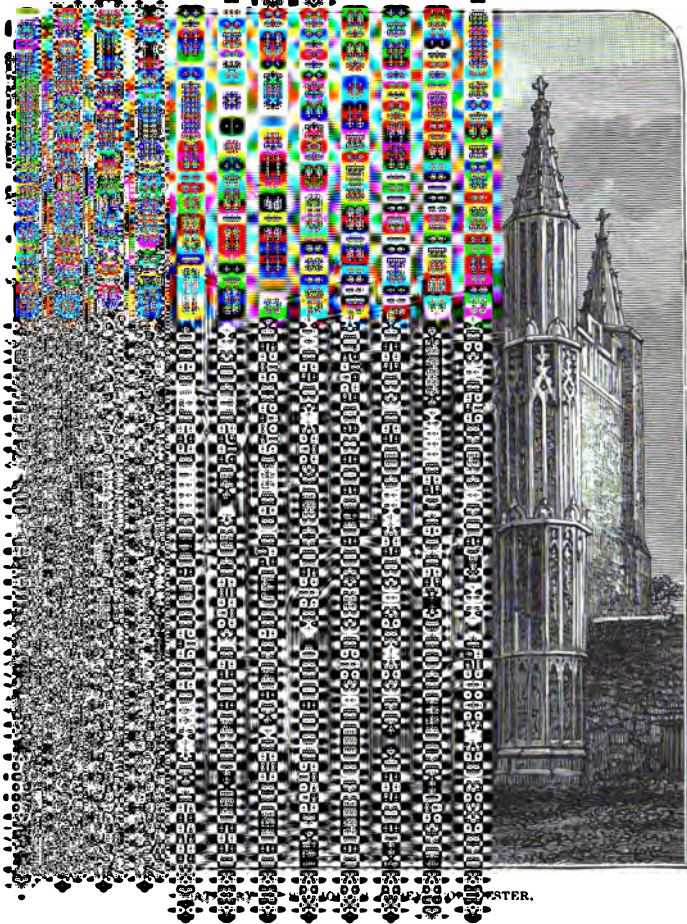
Nearly all the other Norman buildings have gone. St. John's Abbey was destroyed in 1539; the Moot Hall, of which a description is given in Cromwell's "History of Colchester," was replaced

by the present ugly Town Hall in 1844; St. Runwald's, a small Norman church of no great interest, which stood in the centre of High Street, was removed in 1878. The towers of St. Martin's and St. Mary's-at-the-Walls, and parts of St. James's and St. Peter's churches, probably date from Norman times, and consist to a great extent of Roman materials. St. Botolph's Priory Church, the only other important building of the period, is now a picturesque ruin, having been severely damaged during the siege; but sufficient remains to indicate its former magnificence. The west front, which is fairly well preserved, is particularly interesting. It has a fine central doorway, with zigzag mouldings of stone; the south aisle door is a round-headed arch of several courses of Roman bricks; in the two arcades of intersecting arches which run across the whole front above the doorways, the same materials have been employed. Over the arcades is the remaining half of a large circular window, and on the right-hand of this what seems to be part of a tower. From their great roughness it is evident that the internal walls were originally covered with cement. The greater part of the north aisle still stands, and most of

the northern arches of the nave (of seven bays), with the triforium arches above. The south side is more dilapidated, and the clerestory, roof, tower, and transepts, with all the eastern portion of the church, have entirely vanished. Truly the ruination of this once beautiful building was not the least regrettable result of the siege.

The Gateway of St. John's Abbey, which dates from the fifteenth century, was until recent times a picturesque and interesting object, but it has been so completely restored "with no doubt the best intentions . . . that the whole gateway seems but the work of the present generation." Excepting that it was used by the Royalists in their defence of the town, and was much battered by the Parliamentary guns, it has no particular history. Not a vestige remains of the abbey itself, save in the form of fragments built into the wall which still surrounds its site.

As might be expected of a town with such a history, Colchester has contributed its quota of great names to England's roll of fame. In addition to those already incidentally referred to, a few others may here be mentioned. Thomas, Lord Audley, was closely connected with the town; before 1529 he was its town-clerk; in that



year he was made Speaker of the House of Commons, and eventually rose to be Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal in 1532, and Lord Chancellor in 1533. In 1536 the manor of Berechurch came into his possession, and at the dissolution the estate of St. Botolph's Priory was granted to him.

William Gilbert, senior physician to Queen Elizabeth and James I., was born in 1540 at Colchester. He was famous for his investigations in the science of magnetism, and he laid the foundation on which all the subsequent study of electricity has been grounded. To him the very word "electricity" owes its origin. His great work "*De Magnete*" was published in 1600. The house he occupied still stands, and his monument is in Trinity Church near by.

Sir Francis Walsingham, "the most penetrating statesman of his time," appears to have been Recorder of Colchester for some time in the reign of Elizabeth. Samuel Harsnett, to whom reference has been made, was born here in 1561, his father being a baker in St. Botolph Street. Having been educated at Pembroke College, Cambridge, he became master of the Colchester Free School in 1587, and afterwards master of

Pembroke College, and Archdeacon of Essex. In 1609 he was made Bishop of Chichester, and in 1619 of Norwich; in 1629 he attained the position of Archbishop of York. He died in 1631, and bequeathed his library to his native town. In the church at Chigwell, Essex, is his curious memorial brass, of large size, bearing his effigy.

Sir Harbottle Grimston, Speaker of the Convention Parliament, represented the borough in the Long Parliament. His mansion, formerly the house of the Crutched Friars, was destroyed in the siege. Rev. Philip Morant, the historian of Essex, and of Colchester in particular, was rector of St. Mary's. The house in which he lived and wrote was replaced by a new rectory in 1871.

The well-known preacher, Rev. William Marsh, D.D., was vicar of St. Peter's from about 1814 to 1829. "During the fifteen years of his residence here," writes his daughter, "there was perhaps a greater outpouring of the Spirit on his work than at any other period of his ministry." His popularity in Colchester may be gathered from the facts that when he revisited the town, after an absence of twenty-three years, he was welcomed

by the ringing of all the church bells, and crowds of people in the streets, and when he preached on the Sunday in St. Peter's, "a clergyman in the neighbourhood, and two Dissenting ministers in the town, closed their respective places of worship, that they might give their congregations the opportunity of attending."

The late Sir William Gull, the famous physician, was born at Thorpe-le-Soken, not far from Colchester, in 1816, and was buried in the same village in 1890. A local guide-book erroneously claims him as a native of Colchester. The same book also states that the town was the birthplace of Charles Haddon Spurgeon, but here again it is wrong. He was born at Kelvedon, eight miles away, on June 19th, 1834. It is, however, true that he was connected with Colchester, and that in more ways than one. It was his mother's native town; his father lived there for a short time after leaving Kelvedon; he himself obtained his first schooling in the town, and it was at a Methodist chapel there he was converted. His death on January 31st, 1892, has left the whole Christian world sorrowing at the loss of the greatest preacher of the age, whose world-wide influence was only

used in the service of his Master. His ancestors were among the Dutch refugees who, fleeing from the persecutions of the Duke of Alva, took refuge in Colchester and the district in the reign of Elizabeth. The writer is proud to trace his own descent from the same family.

Here, though much more might be written about this historic town, our sketch of the story of Colchester must end. Through fire and sword, persecution and pestilence, the old town has passed, and risen phoenix-like from each of its reverses, until it is now a pleasant and populous place; but whatever may be its wealth or commercial advantages, the ancient walls and buildings, memorials of early struggles and successes, will to the student of history constitute its chief attractions.

Essex Tokens.

By THOMAS FORSTER.

THE requirements of Society frequently call for some extra effort to meet certain contingencies which have arisen—such a need arose in the seventeenth century. It was met by the issue of a coinage known as XVII. century tokens, of which for England, Wales, and Ireland there are over 12,000. Only one is known for Scotland, that being a farthing for Dunbar, dated 1668. These tokens bear a representative value; mostly farthing and halfpenny, with a small number as a penny, their actual value as metal being far below the coin intended to be substituted. To trace their origin we must go back at least a hundred years. In early times barter formed the means of exchange, then coins were gradually introduced; even as late as the time of the Normans we find a silver penny the commonest small coin, but as the years passed by, new wants arose with the advancing civilisation of the people. The reign of Elizabeth may be con-

sidered as our starting point. She issued halfpence and farthings of silver, and contemplated a series in copper. James the First, however, granted a patent to Lord Harrington, for the issue of farthings, which are now commonly known as Harringtons, but in the year 1648 commence those under our present notice, and continue up to 1679. They were issued by private traders and corporations upon the understanding that the issuer would at any time take them back and give their representative value in current coin. According to Mr. Williamson's recent work, Essex takes the fourth place in the number of tokens issued after passing Middlesex and Surrey, London and Southwark coming within those counties respectively—Kent has 595, Yorkshire 445, Devonshire 368, and Essex 359. Essex did not issue any town pieces; eighty-five places in the county are represented by tokens, and Colchester takes the lead with 71. They mostly bear the name of the issuer, and of the place and county, the device in the centre having reference to the trade or the company to which the trader belonged, some few have family arms, and some have merchants' marks. The tokens are of extreme interest and with Parish Registers give

the names of the then population. Many issuers are still represented in the districts. In the Colchester series we find several who served as Mayors : Andrew Formantel in 1667, Henry Lambe in 1669, Nathaniell Lawrence in 1672-79 and 1683, William Moore in 1663-64-70-81 and 1694. The most interesting one in the Colchester series was issued by Alex. Satterthwaite in 1668, and bears the arms of the town.

The Civil Wars which commenced in the reign of Charles I. caused a great stoppage to trade, money was scarce, and the country in a low condition. Charles I. was judicially murdered in 1648, the year that saw the first issue of these tokens. Traders of their own accord coined them, and in consequence of their felt want they were allowed to continue for thirty-one years.

After Colchester, Chelmsford follows with twenty-three. Some places have only one, as Henham, which is extremely rare, it was issued by Robert Halls in 1667. Maldon has four, and three of those bear the arms of the Grocers' Company, the other, St. George and the Dragon.

Manewden has only one which bears the arms of the Barber Surgeons. The same company is also represented on one of those for Manningtree.

At Coggeshall, one out of the thirteen is by Benjamin Samson, which bears a punning device. Samson standing with a robe over his shoulder and loins, holding a jawbone in one hand. Several for Colchester are by baymakers, that town being noted for baize. West Ham issues one with the royal arms.

The entire series for the country are similar in style, and were until quite recently spoken of with contempt. Now, however, through the publication of Boyne's voluminous work, and later still of its re-issue with addition by Williamson, they have taken their proper place, and are now regarded not because of their actual value, but from the light they cast upon a dark page of history. The Civil War caused confusion in the land, Church Registers were badly kept, and in many cases not kept at all, thus these tokens supply what would be almost a blank. With the restoration of royalty and the extension of a coinage of small value their use passed away. They were eventually proscribed by Parliament.

One hundred years later another crisis appears. The French Revolution, followed by the wars of Napoleon, caused great depression in trade. As a consequence money was scarce, and tradesmen

and others feeling the want, again issued tokens. This time, however, they were of the same size and value as the current coin of the realm. They were larger and thicker, mostly having an inscription round the edge as well as on the obverse and reverse. The issues for Essex are but few. The copper ones are for Braintree, one by W. Goldsmith in 1794—one for Chelmsford, bearing on its obverse the front view of the Shire Hall. The chief feature respecting this hall is that it was erected for a less sum than estimated by the builder, and what is more remarkable the acceptors of his tender actually gave him a testimonial in consequence.

Colchester has two varieties of one token. Both bear on the obverse the castle, but from different dies—the other side has a loom, in reference to the baize trade, which was commenced here through the settlement of the Dutch refugees. They had their own laws, and were an independent body in the town. St. Giles's Church was set apart for them, they also for a time used All Saints' Church. Later on they had chapel and minister's house of their own in Head Street, at the corner of Church Street North; the building bore the date 1677. It was subsequently

converted into a bazaar, and burnt down rather more than fifty years ago. It contained a handsome oak staircase, with carvings of lions on the same. The entire woodwork for the chapel and house was carved and made in Holland, and brought over for erection. The site of this building is now covered in part by Mr. Buckingham's boot warehouse.

Another was issued at Hornchurch, bearing on its obverse the profile portrait of Edward IV., and the inscription "Edward IV. granted the Charter A.D. 1465."

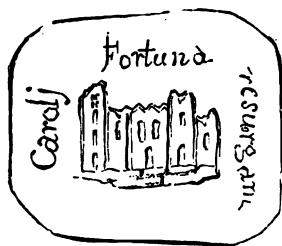
Maldon also has one, bearing on one side the arms of the Clockmakers' Company, and on the other the arms and crest of the town. It is a fine specimen, and far from common. It was designed by Davies, and manufactured by Good at Birmingham. Warley Camp is represented by at least three varieties. It is very similar in design to one issued from the camp at Brighton. All the above are for the XVIII. century, and of the halfpenny size.

Early in the present century there were several varieties of the penny size issued at Walthamstow. A Dunmow halfpenny bears date 1793, and a Wanstead penny 1797. The

Leigh halfpenny is dated 1796. Woodford has halfpenny and farthing, both dated 1796.

A shilling token was issued at Epping in 1796. These tokens, like those of the XVII. century, were prohibited by Act of Parliament. They had their uses, and were helpful in trade when small current coin was scarce. It is hardly probable any future necessity for such things will arise, but should such be the case our successors will have two series to follow.

Before closing these few remarks, it will be necessary to revert to the XVII. century to mention what is known as the Colchester siege piece. It, or rather they, for there were two varieties, one round and the other an octagon—an oblong with the corners cut off. Both are extremely



scarce. They have on one side a rude representation of the castle, with the inscription "Caroli Fortuna Resurgam," the other side is quite plain. They are

known as representing a shilling and a two-shilling piece. The former sold at the Bergue sale, in 1873, for £7 15s., at the Hastings sale, in 1880, £15 10s., at Marsham's, in 1888,

£11. Ruding also mentions two as selling for £11 15s. and £12 5s. Evidently this was struck by an ardent Royalist, possibly at a period when the expectation of the return of Charles II. was almost an accomplished fact. One specimen of the round type is in the museum at Colchester, It was presented some years ago by the late Bolton Smith, a then noted local antiquary, and mayor of the town in 1846-7.

In the same museum are pennies of Edward the Confessor, and of William I., minted at Colchester. There are also a large number of coins issued by Cunobeline, which in all probability were minted in the same town. Colchester being the first Roman town in Britain, is rich in remains of that people and period, and should any reader of these lines have failed to visit the town, let him delay no longer, but come at the earliest possible opportunity, for no town will better repay a visit than Colchester.

Queen Elizabeth at Tilbury: A Glance at Armada Days.

BY EDWARD LAMPLOUGH.

THE fort at Tilbury associates the county of Essex so intimately with the great Armada, that a brief account of that attempted invasion may be justly included in the pages of Bygone Essex.

When Elizabeth declined the hand of Philip II. of Spain, gave her support to the reformed church, and afforded assistance to the United Provinces in their desperate resistance to Spanish tyranny, she gave mortal offence to that proud monarch, and as early as the year 1586 the apprehension of a Spanish war troubled the nation.

Nevertheless, Elizabeth pursued her deadly purpose against the life of Mary Stuart, and the tragedy being consummated by that last fatal blow in the great hall at Fotheringhay Castle, Elizabeth found that she had raised a new claimant to her throne and realm in the person of the Spanish monarch.

Philip at once charged Elizabeth with the murder of her kinswoman, and openly prepared to visit England with the sharp invasion of the sword.

John Leslie, Bishop of Ross, with his pen supported the pretensions of Philip, which also found favour with the Duke of Guise. Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador at the English court, thus expressed himself to his royal master—"God having been pleased to suffer this accursed nation to fall under his displeasure, not only in regard to spiritual affairs by heresy, but also in what relates to worldly affairs, by this terrible event, it is plain that the Almighty has wished to give your Majesty these two crowns as your own entire possession."

The organisation of the expedition, or Armada, was vigorously proceeded with; but ere it sailed Drake made his famous expedition to Cadiz, and had the pleasure of "singeing the King of Spain's beard," to quote his own grim humour.

On the 29th of May, A.D. 1588, the great Armada left Lisbon, under the command of the Duke de Medina Sidonia, who was assisted by Martinez de Recaldo, and other experienced officers. An army of 20,000 soldiers, including

2000 volunteers of noble birth, embarked in the Armada, which, according to Watson's "History of Philip II.," consisted of 150 ships, armed with 650 great guns, and was manned by 8000 sailors; but Grant, on the authority of Spanish historians, in a detailed account gives a total of 132 ships, of a total tonnage of 58,940 tons, armed with 3,148 guns, manned by 8766 sailors, and carrying an army of 21,556 men. The military stores were in proportion to the strength and magnificence of the Armada, and comprised siege and field pieces, and arms and ammunition in abundance. This powerful armament was provisioned for six months.

Thus Schiller describes the *invincible fleet* :—

"She comes, proud navy of the southern ocean—
Beneath her foams the world-wide sea :
With clank of chains, and forms of strange devotion,
And thousand thunders, lo ! she nears to thee—
A floating host of citadels tremendous—
Ne'er did the floods beneath so huge a monster swell.
They call her name—'Invincible.'
O'er the affrighted waves she moves stupendous.
Terror, that round her waits,
The proud name consecrates.
With silent sweep, majestic flowing,
Old Neptune trembling doth his burthen bear :
She, in her womb the World's destruction stowing,
While storms are lulled around, moves on in full career."

The Duke of Parma was prepared to strengthen the Armada with an army of 30,000 foot and 4,000 cavalry, concentrated in the vicinity of Neuport and Dunkirk. With incredible labour he had provided a flotilla of flat-bottomed vessels for the transport of the troops, but was so closely watched by the Dutch and English cruisers, that he was unable to embark until the approach of the Armada, when it was expected the enemy would retire, and Parma's transports be safely convoyed to the English coast.

Boldly, with undaunted front, England prepared to meet the danger, and was nobly seconded by the Dutch, who kept thirty ships cruising between Calais and Dover, and reinforced Lord Seymour's fleet with thirty-five ships, whereby the Flemish ports were blockaded, and Parma's design frustrated.

The command of the fleet was entrusted to a Catholic noble, Charles, Lord Howard of Effingham. He was assisted by Sir Francis Drake, Hawkins, and Frobisher. The navy consisted of only thirty-six vessels, a mere nucleus; but the maritime ports were called upon to furnish ships for the national defence, and from all quarters

the vessels made for Plymouth, manned by the flower of the mercantile navy, and fully equipped to meet the threatening storm.

Her Majesty's lieutenant-general, the Earl of Leicester, was in constant attendance, and Sir Walter Raleigh, with tireless devotion and energy, took a prominent part in organising the armies of defence that were being formed, when—

“From Eddystone to Berwick bounds, from Lynn to
Milford Bay,
The time of slumber was as bright and busy as
the day.”

The returns of the lords-lieutenants of the counties gave a defensive force of 132,689 men, including 14,000 cavalry; a force which the city of London proposed to augment by raising 10,000 men, in addition to furnishing thirty ships to the fleet.

The great camp of defence was formed on the soil of Essex, where the heavy guns of Tilbury fort command the Thames. The original building—a mere block-house erected in the days of Henry VIII.—was strongly fortified by Elizabeth, and some traces of the great camp yet remain in the neighbourhood. Thither, from every part of England, thronged the levies—men

of all ranks and conditions ; not only the Puritan and the less extreme Protestant, but the Catholic, so evilly stricken by the iron hand of legal persecution ; for in that hour of national danger, it was the struggle of the Englishman against the Spaniard ; and although the Catholic nobles were debarred all positions of honour and trust, they nobly acquitted themselves as the soldiers and sailors whose lot it was to obey, toil, achieve, and haply fall unhonoured and unsung. The temper of the brave men who composed the army is happily shown by Stow :—

“ It was a pleasant sight to behold the soldiers as they marched towards Tilbury, their cheerful countenances, courageous words and gestures, dancing and leaping wheresoever they came ; and in the camp their most felicity was hope of fight with the enemy ; where of times divers rumours rose of their foe’s approach, and that present battles would be given them ; then were they joyful at such news, as if lusty giants were to run a race.”

Elizabeth, with spirit and tact that rose to the occasion, appeared in the camp, arrayed in a cuirass, mounted on a war horse, and bearing in her hand a commander’s truncheon. Her oration

appealed at once to the affection, pride, and patriotism of the people :—

“ We have been persuaded by some that are careful of our safety, to take heed how we commit ourselves to armed multitudes, for fear of treachery ; but I assure you, I do not desire to live to distrust my faithful and loving people. Let tyrants fear ! I have always so behaved myself, that, under God, I have placed my chiefest strength and safeguard in the loyal hearts and good will of my subjects ; and, therefore, I am come amongst you at this time, not as for my recreation and sport, but being resolved in the midst and heat of the battle to live or die amongst you all—to lay down for my God, for my kingdom, and for my people, my honour and my blood, even in the dust. I know that I have but the body of a weak and feeble woman, but I have the heart of a king, and of a King of England too ! and I think foul scorn that Parma or Spain, or any Prince of Europe, should dare to invade the borders of my realms ! To which, rather than any dishonour shall grow by me, I myself will take up arms—I myself will be your general—the judge and rewarder of every one of your virtues in the field. I know already by your

forwardness, that you have deserved rewards and crowns, and we do assure you, on the word of a prince, they shall be duly paid you."

A notable and noble speech; yet the Tudor avarice alone prevented her admirals from capturing the Armada, when it fled before them, and they, for lack of powder, could not close in.

That memorable day at Tilbury passed. Lord Hounsden protected Her Majesty with 45,000 men; 20,000 were disposed along the south coast, and 22,000 foot and 1,000 horse remained at Tilbury to cover London.

While Drake was engaged in his famous game of bowls on Plymouth Hoe, on the evening of Saturday, the 19th of July, Thomas Fleming, captain of a Scottish privateer, brought tidings of the Armada's approach. The game was finished, and six ships were got out that night.

"On the night of that memorable 19th of July, messengers and signals were dispatched fast and far through England to warn each town and village that the enemy had come at last! In every shire and every city there was instant mustering of horse and man; in every seaport there was instant making ready for sea; and especially along the southern coast, there was

hurrying to join the admiral of England, and to share in the honour of the first encounter with the foe."

Howard, with a fleet of 140 ships, reached the Eddystone Rock before he sighted the Armada. It presented an imposing front, crescent-shaped, and seven miles broad from horn to horn. "The ships appeared like so many floating castles, and the ocean seemed to groan under the weight of their heavy burdens. The Lord High Admiral willingly suffered them to pass by him, so that he might chase them in the rear, with all the advantage of the wind."

The conflict opened on the morning of Sunday, July 21st; the "Defiance," a pinnace, sailing forward, and saluting the Spaniards with a general discharge of her guns. Howard then led the attack, and such was the speed of the light and comparatively insignificant English vessels, as they moved among the mighty, castle-like galleasses of the enemy, that their action was likened to a morrice-dance upon the water. The great bulk and height of the Spanish ships proved fatally disadvantageous to them, for while they suffered severely from the cannon of the English, their own shot swept

over the low-lying craft of their assailants with little or no effect.

The battle went against the Spanish fleet, and involved the ultimate loss of two large "Invincibles." When night closed in, the Spaniards were running in the direction of Calais, closely pursued by Lord Howard.

On the 23rd, the fleets closed off Portland, and a desperate conflict ensued, the advantage remaining with the English, who had to draw off in consequence of their powder giving out. They received supplies on the 25th, but had barely warmed to their work before they again ran short, and had to retire.

The Armada anchored off Calais on the 27th, but so hardly bested that Medina sent to Parma for fly-boats to engage the English cruisers. Parma was, however, held in close check by the Dutch, and Medina fought his way to Dunkirk, when the wind failed, and he was surrounded by the English fleet. His admirable disposition secured him from attack; but at midnight, eight small fire-ships were driven by the rising tide and gale against his armament. A panic ensued; and when day dawned the scattered ships lay open to attack. A sanguinary

battle ensued, lasting from 4 a.m. to 6 p.m. Up to this time the islanders had lost only one small ship, but in this day's engagement the Spanish fleet was sorely buffeted, and sustained a loss of ten large vessels.

The following incident illustrates the desperate character of the struggle on this eventful day :—

“One of the capital ships having been long battered by an English captain of the name of Cross, was sunk in the time of the engagement. A few only of the crew were saved, who related that one of the officers on board having proposed to surrender, he was killed by another, who was enraged at his proposal; that this other was killed by the brother of the first; and that it was in the midst of this bloody scene, which paints the ferocious character of the Spaniards, that the ship had gone to the bottom.”

The Armada was vanquished. Medina Sidonia accepted the position, and not daring to face the English fleet, proposed to return to Spain by directing his course to the northward, and round the English isles.

A portion of the English fleet pursued, and would have compelled the Spaniards to engage off Flamborough Head, had the powder not failed.

Sir William Monson expressed a confident opinion that the Armada could have been constrained to surrender if the fleet had been properly handled. It was the narrow parsimony of the money-loving Tudor that prevented this glorious consummation of one of our most historic triumphs. Thus wrote Drake :—

“There was never anything pleased me better than the seeing the enemy flying with a southerly wind to the northward. We have the Spaniards before us, and mind, with the grace of God, to wrestle a fall with them. God grant that we have a good eye to the Duke of Parma; for, with the grace of God, if we live, I doubt it not, ere it be long, so to handle the matter with the Duke of Sidonia, as he shall wish himself at Saint Mary’s Port, among his lime trees.”

After defeat by English valour and address, after suffering from storm and wreck on the coasts of Scotland and Ireland, sixty vessels, the sorely mauled remnant of *the invincible Armada*, reached the bay of Santander.

“King Philip had vaunted his claims;
He had sworn for a year he would sack us;
With an army of heathenish names
He was coming to fagot and stack us;

“Like the thieves of the sea he would track us,
And shatter our ships on the main ;
But we had bold Neptune to back us,—
And where are the galleons of Spain ?

“His carackes were christened of dames,
To the kirtles whereof he would tack us ;
With his saints and his gilded stern-frames,
He had thought like an egg-shell to crack us ;
Now Howard may get to his Flaccus,
And Drake to his Devon again,
And Hawkins bowl rubbers to Bacchus,—
For where are the galleons of Spain ?”

Passing over Philip's well dissembled mortification, the national rejoicings, and Elizabeth's procession from Whitehall to St. Paul's, we will take a last look at Tilbury, not quite deserted by gallant soldiers and wise statesmen, although the great danger is now over. Let us glance over Secretary Walsingham's shoulder, as he addresses himself to the Chancellor, exonerating the commanders of the fleet from blame, although lamenting the escape of the beaten enemy. His letter bears date of the 8th of August, and these are the words that his pen forms :—“I am sorry the Lord-Admiral was forced to leave the prosecution of the enemy through the want he sustains ; our half-doings doth breed dishonour, and leaveth the disease uncured.”

The Lawless Court.

BY THE REV. GEO. S. TYACK, B.A.

A COURT without justice, one can fancy a cynic saying, is nothing very remarkable, nor necessarily a feature of bygone days, but a lawless court is certainly unique; yet such a court, in name at any rate, the law-abiding county of Essex boasts.

This Lawless Court, or Court of Cockcrowing, is held annually at a spot known as King's Hill, in the Parish of Rochford, shortly after midnight on the Wednesday morning following Michaelmas Day.

At the appointed place of meeting stands a post, white-painted, about five feet high, to which the Steward of the Manor goes in procession from the King's Head Inn, with the tenants and with torch-bearers; the company generally, assisted by any others who may be attracted by the singular ceremony, cockcrowing lustily. Arrived at the post, all at once become silent, while the steward or his deputy reads in a loud

whisper the summons of the Court: "O yes! O yes! O yes! All manner of persons that do owe suit or service to this court, now to be holden in and for the Manor of King's Hill, in the Hundred of Rochford, draw near and give your attendance, and perform your several suits and services, according to the custom of the said manor. God save the Queen!" Then by the flickering light of the links, and in the same low voice, the roll is called of all persons owing service to the court, and of the lands in respect of which they owe it; answer being made by each tenant or his proxy in similar manner. The court is closed with another whispered proclamation; upon which, extinguishing their torches, and with a renewed outburst of cockcrowing, the company disperses.

Such is the present fashion of holding this strange court; anciently, it differed in some few details, which rendered its proceedings much more mysterious. The rents were formerly actually paid at this quasi-secret meeting, the attendance of the tenants, and the payment of their dues being checked off on the post with a piece of charcoal taken from a large faggot-stick forming one of the torches. The tenants more-

over were required to pay their homage kneeling, for which a genuflexion, scarcely to be called a "reverence," has got itself substituted.

The status and the origin of the lawless court have given rise to much questioning. Though in form apparently a manorial court, the old title (which is in doggeril Latin rhyme) makes no mention of the lord of the manor, but on the contrary distinctly calls it "the Court of the Lord the King." This title has been thus translated* : "King's Hill, in Rochford, to wit. The Court of the Lord the King called 'the Court without Law,' holden there by the custom thereof before sunrise, unless it be twilight. The steward alone writes nothing but with coals, as often as he will, when the cock shall have crowed; by the sound of which only the court is summoned. He crieth secretly for the king in the court without law; and unless they quickly come, they shall the more quickly repent; and unless they come secretly, let not the court attend. He who hath come with a light erreth in behaviour. And until they be without light they are taken in default. The Court without Care, the Jury of Injury, was

* "The Lawless Court: a paper on the constitution, style, origin, and significance of the Court at Cockcrowing, holden at Rochford, in Essex." By William Henry Black, F.S.A. London, 1869.

holden there on the Wednesday (before day) next after the feast of Saint Michael, Archangel, in the year of the reign of king. . . .”

From the above it would appear that the torches must be an innovation, since it is an “error in behaviour” to come with a light; and the vociferous cockcrow—*a reminiscence of the time when they waited for an actual cockcrow before opening the court—must be an equal, if not a greater, error in those that are charged to “come secretly.”* The whole ordering of the court is plainly to gain, or to affect, perfect secrecy. It meets at the most secret hour of the night, and with no other summons than the cock-crow; its business is transacted in darkness, and with whispers; and of those transactions none but the steward must make note, and he with such rough and, as it were, *impromptu materials as the whitened post and a piece of charcoal.*

As to the origin of this custom, Camden (in the supplement to his “*Britannia*,”) thinks that “this strange kind of punishment may seem to be inflicted for the negligence of the inhabitants in guarding the sea coasts.” Mr. Black looks upon the post at the meeting-place of the Court (which it is almost superfluous to say, is not the

original post, though alleged to be a fac-simile of its fore-runners) as a Roman landmark, and suggests that the main purpose of this manor and its nocturnal Court was the preservation of this.

Local tradition tells the following story in explanation of the case. At some distant time of long-forgotten date the tenants of this manor formed a conspiracy "to raise a commotion," or, as one version has it, to dispossess or even murder their lord. But it fell out that, as they were plotting together on the King's Hill amid the darkness of the hour before the dawn, one Wednesday after Michaelmas, the lord himself at a neighbouring window, was ear-witness of their treasonable plans, for the punishment of which he exacted his suits and services henceforth in this strange court; so that those who met in secret and in darkness for his hurt, were compelled ever after to meet at the same unseasonable time, and in the same stealthy way, for his pleasure and profit. According to this tradition, therefore, every succeeding generation of tenants has been obliged to play at conspiracy in memory of that night's ill work; meeting by pre-concerted but unsuspecting-seeming signal almost at dead of night, conducting their business in whispers, and

checking the attendance of the company with charcoal marks, un-meaning to all but the initiated.

It will have been observed that the court boasts of several names, all more or less curious. It is the "Court without Care," or "without Cure" (*Curia Sine Cura*), that is, the Sinecure Court, probably as having no business to perform such as usually falls under a Manorial Court's jurisdiction. It is the "Jury of Injury" (*jurata* de injuria*), an extraordinary term that may imply that the tenants are summoned in order to prevent injury to their lord, or as a memorial of the alleged conspiracy for his injury.

Two other names are the "Court at Cock-crowing," and the "Whispering Court," which sufficiently explain themselves. But the principal, and (from the Latin title) almost official name is the "Court without Law" (*Curia Sine Lege*) or the "Lawless Court." The origin of this description of it, is said by some to be the lawless hour at which it is held; but the authority already referred to more than once has a

* *Jurati* in the rhyming title of the Court; *jurata* is a reading suggested by W. H. Black Esq., F.S.A., since the former is hardly intelligible.

different and more elaborate reason to suggest: "I consider," he says, "the term 'Lawless' in the proper sense of the Latin term '*Sine lege*,' to mean a Court Baron (or Court of Knights' Fees) without a Leet or Lawday, although it is a King's Court; for a Leet—perhaps derived from the British *Llys* (a court)—is the King's Court, and was commonly holden at the same time as the Court Baron in other manors. The Court Leet is required by Magna Charta to be holden at Michaelmas. So is the Lawless Court of King's Hill holden to the present time."

In the study of the customs and the folk-lore of our forefathers, nothing is more interesting than a comparison of them with the manners and myths of other lands. This paper may therefore well conclude with a foreign parallel to this anomalous Court, which Camden of old pointed out.

"It seemeth," he writes, "to be a remainder of the old feodary custom, used by the emperor of Almain and Kings of France, who when they passed into Italy to receive the imperial crown at Roncalia, near to Placentia, encamped, and, hanging up a shield upon an high pole, summoned

with a low voice all that held in fee of them to be present and answer to their names, at midnight, which whosoever neglected was answered with the loss of his landes. Of this you may reade Gunther, the old Germane poet, in his second booke."

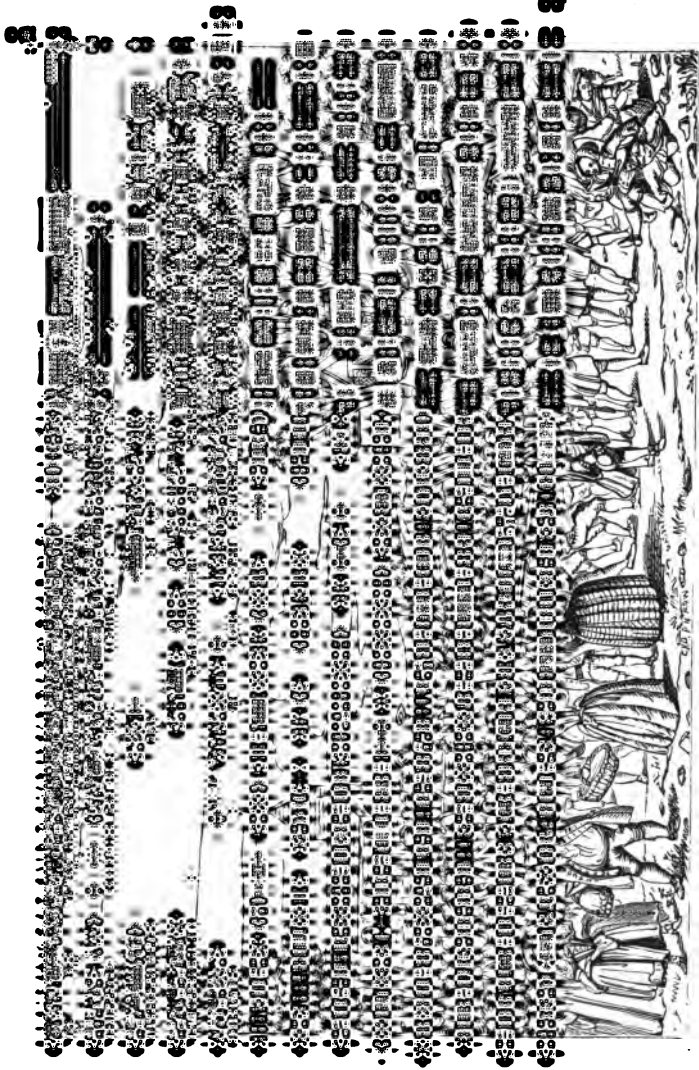
The Dunmow Flitch.

FAR back in the middle ages was instituted at the Priory of Dunmow, Essex, a custom of presenting a flitch or gammon of bacon to any married couple who could swear that neither of them in twelve month and a day from their marriage had ever repented of his or her union. The Priory was founded in the year 1104 by the Lady Juga, sister of Ralph Baynard, who held the manor at the time of Domesday Survey. The priory buildings have long been demolished. A little of the Priory Church remains, and forms part of the present Parish Church of Little Dunmow. Some ancient monuments may here be seen, including one to Lady Juga, and another placed to the memory of "fair Matilda," daughter of second Walter Fitzwalter, who figures in legendary lore as the wife of bold Robin Hood. King John is reputed to have caused her to be poisoned for rejecting his addresses.

Sir William Dugdale, who was born in 1605, and died in 1686, furnishes in his "Monasticon" the

story of "fair Matilda," and interesting information respecting the matrimonial prize. "Robert Fitzwalter," writes Dugdale "who lived long beloved by King Henry, the son of King John (as also of all the realm), betook himself in his latter days to prayer and deeds of charity, and great and bountiful alms to the poor, kept great hospitality, and re-edified the decayed Priory of Dunmow, which Juga, a most devout and religious woman, had builded; in which Priory arose a custom, began and instituted either by him or some of his ancestors, which is verified by the common saying or proverb, 'That he which repents him not of his marriage, either sleeping or waking, in a year and a day, may lawfully go to Dunmow and fetch a gammon of bacon.' It is certain that such a custom there was, and that the bacon was delivered with such solemnity and triumph as they of the Priory and town could make—continuing till the dissolution of that house. The party or pilgrim took the Oath before the Prior of the Convent, and the Oath was administered with long process and much solemn singing and chanting."

"The Vision of Piers Plowman," a religious allegorical satire, attributed to Robert Langlande,



THE DUNNOW PROCESSION, JUNE 20TH, 1751.
From a painting of the time, by David Ogborne.

and written about 1362, contains a reference to the Dunmow fitch. In the following lines (which are slightly modernised to render them intelligible) the satirist adverts to the hasty and ill-assorted marriages that followed the great pestilence, the "black death."

"Many a couple since the Pestilence
Have blighted them together ;
The fruit that they bring forth
Is foul words,
In jealousy without happiness,
And quarrelling in bed ;
They have no children but strife,
And slapping between them :
And though they go to Dunmow
(Unless the devil help !)
To follow after the fitch,
They never obtain it ;
And unless they both are perjured,
They lose the bacon."

In the " Prologue of the Wife of Bath's Tale," by Chaucer, the merry wife relates how she treated her husbands, and shows they had little chance of obtaining the prize of matrimonial felicity. She observes:—

"The bacoun was nought fet for [t]hem, I trowe,
That som men feeche in Essex at Dunmowe."

About the year 1445 appeared a theological poem, being a sort of paraphrase in verse of the

Ten Commandments, and of which some extracts appear in "*Reliquiæ Antiquæ*." The author, commenting on the Seventh Commandment, bewails the corruption of the period that he could

"Find no man now that will enquire
The perfect ways unto Dunmow,
For they repent them within a year
And many within a week I trowe."

Allusions to the custom have been found by Mr. Thomas Wright, M.A., F.S.A., in MSS. of the latter part of the sixteenth century at Oxford and Cambridge. Writing in 1659, Howell says :—

"Do not fetch your wife from Dunmow
For so you may bring home two sides of a sow."

In 1778, was produced at the Haymarket Theatre, a ballad opera entitled "*The Flitch of Bacon*." It was written by Henry Bates, the son of an Essex clergyman. It was printed in the following year.

County histories contain particulars concerning this custom. Morant, the celebrated historian of Essex, deals with the subject. "The prior and canons," says Morant, "were obliged to deliver the bacon to them that took the oath, by virtue (as many believe) of a founder or benefactors' deed or

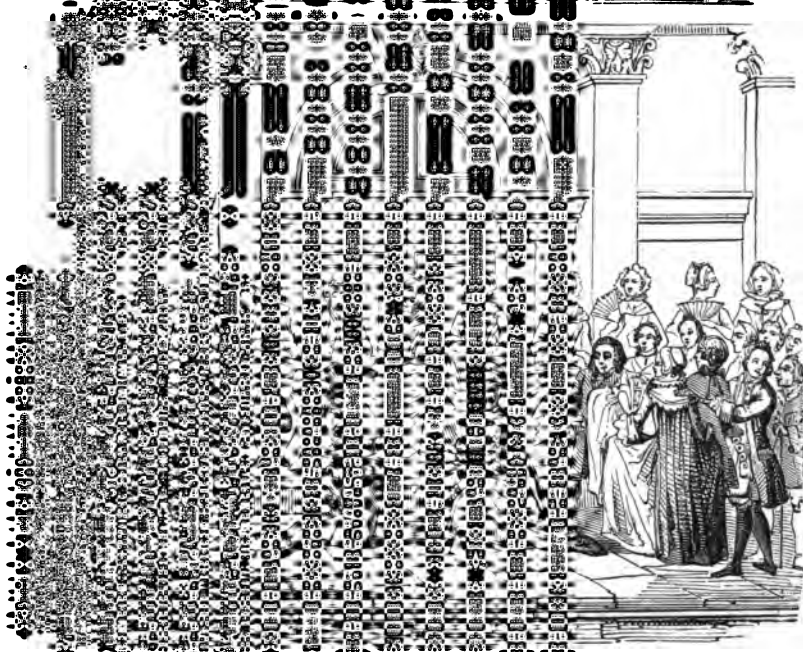
will, by which they held lands, rather than by their own singular frolic and wantonness, or more probably it was imposed by the Crown, either in the Saxon or Norman times, and was a burthen upon the estate." It is stated that after the Pilgrims, as the claimants were termed, had taken the oath, they were brought through the town in a chair, on men's shoulder, with all the friars, brethren, and townsfolk, young and old, male and female, after them, with shouts and acclamations, and the bacon was borne before them on poles.

From the Chartulary of the Priory, which is deposited in the British Museum, it appears that only three couples obtained the bacon previous to the suppression of the religious houses. These were respectively on the 27th April, 1445, in the year 1468, and on the 8th of September, 1510. The following are taken from the original entries now in the British Museum :—

"MEMORANDUM.—That one Richard Wright, of Badbourge, near the city of Norwich, in the county of Norfolk, yeoman, came and required the bacon of Dunmow on the 27th day of April, in the 23rd year of the reign of King Henry VI., and according to the form of the charter, was sworn before John Cannon, Prior of this place and the

he was delivered

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a gammon of



THOMAS SHAKESHAFT,

then prior, and
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our Lord, 1510,
county of Essex,

came to the Priory of Dunmow, and on the 8th September, being Sunday, in the second year of King Henry VIII., he was, according to the form of the Charter, sworn before John Tils, the Prior of the house and convent, as also before a multitude of neighbours, and there was delivered to him, the said Thomas, a gammon of bacon."

Particulars of only three presentations of bacon have come down to us prior to the suppression of religious houses, but we may safely assume that more were entertained, and that the records of them are lost. The frequent allusions to the subject by the old poets support our supposition.

Dunmow Priory was one of the religious houses supplied by Henry VIII. The mode of religious worship changed, but the bacon as a reward for matrimonial bliss remained. The new holders of land displayed no disposition to withhold the bacon. Morant obtained from the rolls of the court particulars of the next presentation. The document states as follows :

"At a Court Baron of Sir Thomas May, Knt., holden the 7th of June, 1701, before Thomas Wheeler, gent., steward, the homage being five fair ladies, spinsters ; namely, Elizabeth Beaumont, Henrietta Beaumont, Annabella Beaumont, Jane Beaumont, and Mary Wheeler.—They found that John Reynolds, of Hatfield Brodoke, gent. [Essex], and Ann his wife ; and William Parsley, of Much Easton [Essex], butcher, and Jane, his wife, by means of their quiet and peaceable,

tender and loving cohabitation for the space of three years last past, and upwards, were fit and qualified persons to be admitted by the court to receive the ancient and accustomed oath, whereby to entitle themselves to have the Bacon of Dunmow delivered unto them according to Custom of the Manor. Accordingly, having taken the oath, kneeling on the two great stones near the church door, the Bacon was delivered to each couple."

Mr. John Reynolds was the Steward to Sir Charles Barrington.

The next claim was granted in the year of grace 1751, and the official account is as follows:—

"The Manor of Dunmow late the Priory in Essex.	}	The Special Court Baron of Mary Hallett, Widow, Lady of the said Manor, there held for the said Manor, on Thursday, the twentieth day of June, in the five and twentieth year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Second; by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland King, Defender of the Faith, and in the year of our Lord, One Thousand Seven Hundred and Fifty One, before George Comyns, Esquire, Steward of the said Manor.
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HOMAGE.

William Townsend, Gent. Mary Cater, Spinster. John Strutt, the yor., Gent. Martha Wickford, Spinster. James Raymond, the yor., Gent. Elizabeth Smith, Spinster.	}	Sworn.	{	Daniel Heckford, Gent. Catherine Brett, Spinster. Robert Mapeltoft, Gent. Eliza Haslefoot, Spinster. Richard Birch, Gent. Sarah Mapletoft, Spinster.
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Be it remembered, that at this Court, it is found and presented by the homage aforesaid, that Thomas Shakeshaft, of Weathersfield, in the County of Essex, weaver, and Ann, his wife, have been married for the space of seven years last past and upwards. And it is likewise found, presented, and adjudged by the homage aforesaid, that the said Thomas Shakeshaft, and Ann, his wife, by means of their quiet, peaceable, tender, and loving cohabitation, for the space of time aforesaid, as appears to the said homage, are fit and qualified persons to be admitted by the Court to receive the ancient and accustomed Oath, whereby to entitle themselves to have the Bacon of Dunmow delivered unto them according to the custom of this manor. Whereupon at this Court, in full and open Court, came the said Thomas Shakeshaft and Ann, his wife, in their own proper persons, and humbly prayed they might be admitted to take the Oath aforesaid. Whereupon the said Steward, with the Jury, Suitors, and other Officers of the Court, proceeded with the usual solemnity to the ancient and accustomed place for the administration of the Oath, and receiving the bacon aforesaid (that is to say), to the two Great Stones lying near the Church door, within the said manor, where the said Thomas Shakeshaft, and Ann, his wife, kneeling down on the said two Stones, the said Steward did administer unto them the accustomed Oath, in the words to the effect following (that is to say):—

‘ You shall swear by custom of confession,
That you ne’er made nuptial transgression ;
Nor since you were married man and wife,
By household brawls or contentious strife,
Or otherwise at bed or at board,
Offended each other in deed or word ;
Or in a twelvemonth and a day,
Repented not in thought any way ;

‘Or since the parish clerk said “Amen,”
Wished yourselves unmarried again,
But continued true, and in desire,
As when you joined hands in holy quire.’

And immediately thereupon the said Thomas Shakeshaft, and Ann, his wife, claiming the said bacon, the Court pronounced the sentence for the same in these words, or to the effect following to wit :—

‘Since to these conditions without any fear,
Of your own accord do freely swear ;
A whole gammon of bacon you shall receive,
And bear it away with love and good leave ;
For this is the custom of Dunmow well known,—
Tho’ the pleasure be ours, the bacon’s your own.’

And accordingly a gammon of bacon was delivered to the said Thomas Shakeshaft, and Ann, his wife, with the usual solemnity.”

An account of the presentation will be found in the *Gentleman’s Magazine* and the old *London Magazine* for the year 1751, from which it appears that the successful candidates realized a large sum of money by selling slices of the bacon to those who witnessed the ceremony. It is estimated that some five thousand persons were present.

A local artist named David Ogborne witnessed the ceremony, and made sketches of it, and afterwards painted a picture of the procession. It has been several times engraved. It is a picture

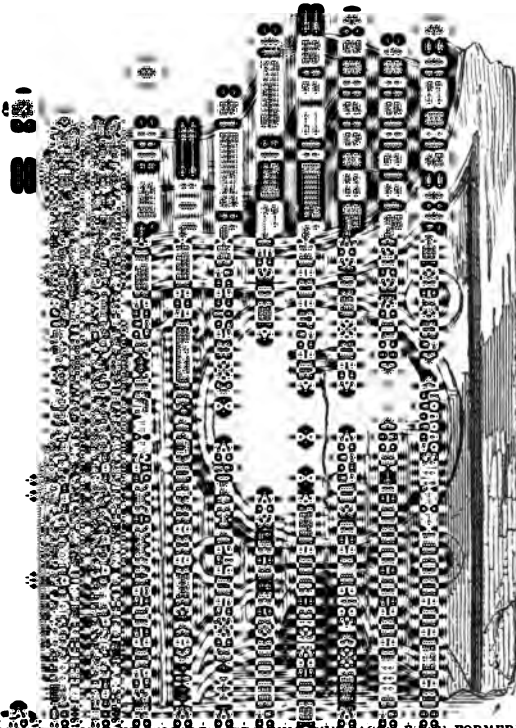
in every way worthy of Hogarth. We are, by the courtesy of Messrs. W. & R. Chambers, enabled to include a woodcut of it from their "Book of Days." William Hone in his "Every Day Book," reproduces a print of great rarity "sold by John Bowles, Map and Printseller, in Cornhill," entitled "The Manner of Claiming the Gammon of Bacon, etc., by Thomas Shakeshaft and Ann his wife." We give a copy of the picture on page 149.

The antique chair in which the successful claimants were formerly carried is still preserved in the chancel of Little Dunmow church. Its dimensions are such as to bring the loving pair who may occupy it in a rather close juxtaposition. It is undoubtedly of great antiquity, probably the official chair of the Prior, or that of the Lord of the Manor, in which he held his usual courts and received the suit and service of his tenants. It in no way differs from the chief chairs of ancient halls. We furnish an engraving of this interesting relic.

The claimants were first carried about the Priory churchyard and then through the town, the bacon being bore before them.

According to a newspaper of 1772, on the 12th

of Terling,
 to Dunmow,
 people, and
 according to



FORMERLY CARRIED.

themselves ready
 the great
 and their
 were found

fast nailed, and all admittance refused, in pursuance of the express orders of the Lord of the Manor.

In 1851, Mr. and Mrs. Hurrell, owners and occupiers of a farm at Felsted, Essex, claimed from the Lord of the Manor the bacon, but he declined to give it, on account of the custom being so long dormant. The inhabitants of Great Dunmow presented it to them at a fête in Easton Park.

Shortly after the publication of "The Flitch of Bacon," a popular novel by W. Harrison Ainsworth, there was a revival of ye ancient custom, in which he took an active interest. The history of the modern presentations do not come within the scope of this work.

A Deserted Primitive Village.

BY G. FREDK. BEAUMONT.

THE sites of the early villages of this country can in a great many instances be traced by the remains of earthworks, stonecircles, and other material external evidences, but, in the majority of cases, there is literally nothing left to indicate to the transient observer that some of the lands which the husbandman of these latter days yearly cultivates for his fellow man, once bore the habitations of his ruder forefathers. But to the archæologist—to the comparative philologist—there are voices which, though they have slumbered long, are now waking from the deep delved earth to tell their tales of bygone days.

The fair fields of old England would lose one of their charms if their archaic names were allowed to be lost in oblivion. "There is much," says Carlyle, "nay almost all in names; the name is the earliest garment you wrap round the earth, to which it thenceforth cleaves more tenaciously

(for there are names that have lasted nigh thirty centuries) than the very skin."

The fields of Essex, in common with the fields of other counties, have many tales to unfold; relating now how that in the distant ages past they bore upon the once green sward the village council deliberating in rude form upon their rights and wrongs, prescribing laws and meting out the measure due to each; how that a mound was heaped o'er some great warrior, and clustered round it rose the lesser mounds of those who falling on some field of blood had perished with their chief. The fields may also tell of the gallows place where culprits hung their final hours and passed to other realms.

The locality which is now to come under consideration has hitherto received no attention from an archæological point of view, and there is little, save in the field names, to lead the observer to the conclusion that it once may have been the home of one of those little Anglo-Saxon communities whose members gathered periodically around the moot-hill or beneath the sacred tree.

The place in question is about two miles from the ancient little town of Coggeshall, between the two great Roman ways which once bore the

provincial warriors of the Eternal City in their marchings from the Colony of Camalodunum, on the one hand to the protomartyrian City of Verulamium; and on the other to the ancient British town which was destined to become the foremost city of the world.

The field names here which seem to point to the settlement of an early village community, and to the primitive legislative and administrative local court are the following, which have been preserved in a survey of the Manor of Coggeshall Hall, made in the year 1758, and in the Tithe Apportionment Surveys of the Parishes of Little Coggeshall and Bradwell,* viz. :—(a) Tom-acre; (b) Townsacre and Grogger; (c) Keys; (d) Great Tom-acre; (e) Gall Thorpe; (f) Purrhill Field; (g) Pin Hall; (h) Blest-end Field; (i) Blest-end; (k) Black Croft; (l) Burnt House, all of which names will be brought under consideration.

The lone spot which bears these names, names full of significance, can be approached from

* References to Ordnance Map xxxv. 1. In Little Coggeshall (a) No. 93 about two acres at the western end; (b) No. 93 about six acres adjoining Cuthedge Lane; (c) No. 92. In Bradwell (d) No. 256; (e) 248; (f) western portion of the same field; (g) in north western corner of same field; (h) No. 247; (i) No. 242; (k) No. 252. In Kelvedon (l) Nos. 18 and 19.

Coggeshall by the lane known as Scrips or Cuthedge Lane and from Kelvedon by Pantlings or Callows Lane, or from the church-end of the same village, along the Hollow Road, past Felix Hall, and through Woodhouse Farm. All these lanes terminate at a spot known as Blest-end, which lies between Capons Farm and Herons Farm as shown on the Ordnance Map.

Blest-end by its very name points almost conclusively to a once hallowed spot. The name can have reference to nought else than consecration, were it for worship, or as the last reposing-place for the bodies of the honoured dead.

Blackcroft is about two hundred yards to the east, and may have derived its name from remains of the funeral pyres, which perhaps consumed the mortal remains of the little community.

Keyeses, or Great Keys, which lies between Black Croft and Hayward's Farm, may have been the land belonging to the jury of the local court. The Isle of Man has its House of Keys, and Mr. Gomme (*Primitive Folk Moots*, p. 91) tells us that when Sir John Stanley first visited the Island in the fourteenth century, being unacquainted with many of the customs of the people, as well as with the forms and ceremonies

observed by former kings in state affairs, he sent queries to the Deemsters and *Keys*, to which he required answers in writing, and it is recorded that the forms and ceremonies which had been held previously to the accession of the house of Stanley to the throne of Man, were in this wise : The king was to sit in a *chair* covered with a Royal Cloth and cushions, with his visage towards the east, and his sword before him holden with the point upwards, his barons in the third degree sitting beside him, and his beneficed men and his deemsters sitting before him, and his clerk, his knights, esquires, and yeomen about him in the third degree, and the worthiest men in the land, viz. : the twenty-four *Keys* were to be called in before the Deemsters in case the king should desire to ask anything of them, and so that they might also hear his wishes.

Here then we have not only a reference to the keys, but also to the *chair* of government, to which allusion will presently be made.

On the opposite side of the road is singularly enough to be found Tom-acre, or Towns-acre, and Groggerly, and farther south is Great Tom-acre. The word Towns-acre is of itself most suggestive of the early village community—the

Saxon tun in fact; and may not Groggerly be a corruption of the name of the Christian missionary, St. Gregory? Towns-acre is the form given in the Little Coggeshall Tithe Map, but Tom-acre is to be found in the Coggeshall Hall Manorial Survey of 1758, and Great Tom-acre in the Bradwell Tithe Apportionment.

Now Tom-acre is most decidedly a curious name, and but for the aid of comparative philology would probably have to remain unexplained. We find, however, its equivalent among the Scotch place-names recorded by Mr. Gomme as reminiscences of the primitive open-air courts in the word Tomachar, meaning hillock of the chair, and other instances are given by that ardent folk-lorist of the association of the word Tom with the assemblies of Scotland. The hillock, which the word Tom indicates as having once existed, is no longer to be seen.

Gall Thorp lies to the west of Great Tom-acre. Here we have the Danish word *thorp*, meaning a village associated with another word, the precise import of which is not quite clear, but it seems to suggest that the inhabitants of the village, when the field received its name, were foreigners to those who were settled around

them, and Canon Isaac Taylor, in reference to the word Calais (which is a word of similar origin, and was anciently written indifferently Galeys, or Waleys,) says it most appropriately indicates the existence of a remnant of a Celtic people, surrounded by a cordon of Teutonic settlers. But further, with regard to the word Gall, it may be suggested that it is but an abbreviation of Gallows, especially as the road leading directly to this field bears the significant name of Callows Lane, most probably a corruption of Gallows Lane. Whether the gibbet here was a survival in the time of Edward I., we know not, but we do know that in the reign of that king there existed in Essex alone nearly 150 gallows, and one of these was in Coggeshall, and belonged to the Abbot of the Monastery there; and another was in Feering, and belonged to the Abbot of Westminster. One of these appears to have been just on the eastern border of Great Coggeshall parish (No. 143, Ordnance Map Feering), as this field is called Gallows Croft, and the street leading to it is, in legal documents to this day, called East Street, or Gallows Street; where the other Gallows place was is unknown, and it can only be conjectured that it may have been at Blest-end.

The western portion of Gall Thorp is called *Purr-hill* field. Such a name would certainly never have been given to a field which is naturally perfectly flat, hence it must be concluded that formerly there was here an eminence of an artificial character—a raised mound in fact. That it does not now exist should not be a matter of surprise, for it is well known that in numberless cases within comparatively modern times these primitive earthworks have been removed for the purpose of filling some hollow place in the neighbourhood, or with a view to facilitate the cultivation of the land. The hill in question was doubtless one of the ancient Moot-hills, or Parling-places, and there are traces of these parling-places to be found in many place-names in this county and elsewhere, such as Purlis-hill, Great Maplestead, which, as far as one can judge from the Ordnance Map, is still a somewhat prominent artificial eminence on the borders of an adjoining parish ; and then again about midway between Maplestead and Coggeshall, is Parley Beams, the latter word pointing to a tree as the assembling place, for the word beam is but the Old English synonym for a tree. Again this last named parling-place is likewise on the

boundary of two parishes, and there yet remain two enormous boulders * which are certainly still further evidence of the importance of this site. There is a Purley Farm on the boundary which divides the parish of Great Coggeshall from Earls Colne ; also a Purney Heath at Dedham, in Essex. Many other instances of a similar nature could be, and ought to be, collected from the Tithe Maps and the Manorial records of this county.

Of these primitive courts Watkins, in his work on "Copyholds," vol. ii., p. 7, tells us that they were held in the open air, and generally on the slope of a hill ; the judge took advantage of the eminence, and also of the wind, for he sat with his back to it, and so opened the court, and the people being ranged beneath him, he could both see and be seen more commodiously. Indeed so prevalent was this custom among the Britons that the top of a hill or eminence became at length significative of a Court of Justice, and the names of several persons who had jurisdiction were allusive to it, and vestiges of this custom remain among us to this day in

* These boulders were removed to their present position about forty years ago (see Essex Archæol. Trans., vol. iv., p. 63, issued while the above was in type).

the Moot, or Mute, or Parling Hills, still known in various parts of this and the neighbouring islands.

The Custom Roll of the Manor of Earl Soham, Suffolk, dated 1635 (published by the writer in "East Anglian Notes and Queries," N.S., vol. ii., p. 351) records that there was an ancient custom of free walk or free perambulation of the jury of the leet, commonly called the Purrelinge, every leet to be executed by them as a royalty belonging to the leet, to walk through the bounds of the leet as a free place, or pure place, or purliene, or purlue, to see annoyances and present them.

The fields known as Burnt House, a name preserved in the Coggeshall Hall Manorial Survey of 1758, point it seems to the former existence of some of the homes of this ancient village community.

In the north west corner of the Purr-hill field, was till quite recently a cottage (it is shown in the Ordnance Map, but has since been demolished) called Pin-hall, which may be a duplication of synonyms *Pen-holl*, the one Cymric, and the other Norse, equivalent to the English word hill, and apparently pointing to the Parling-hill or Purr-hill, to which reference has already been made.

While one readily acknowledges that Hayward's Farm and Capon's Farm may take their names from former owners or occupiers, there is at least a possibility that the former belonged to the Hayward or officer of the village whose duty it was to protect the common lands from damage by cattle ; and that the latter may mark the site of a "Capon Tree." Such a tree exists, or did remain until recently, at Brampton, near Carlisle, of which it is said that here the judges were met by javelin-men, well armed and mounted, from Carlisle, and bearing on their backs a goodly number of cold capons, which, beneath the spreading branches of this once stately tree, were consumed by the learned judges and their body-guard. Another Capon Tree was to be found near Jedburgh, in Scotland, the legend attaching to which says that it served as a trysting-place for the border clans of former times (see Gomme's *Primitive Folk-Moots*, p. 256).

It is well known that Primitive Court-hills, Parling-places, Moot-hills, etc., are generally to be found where two or more parishes converge, and Mr. Kemble (*"Saxons in England,"* vol. i., p. 75) has pointed out that "as the possession and guardianship of the seat of government could

not but lead to the indication of certain privileges and material advantages to its holders, it is not unreasonable to believe that when the marks coalesced on equal terms, the temple lands would be without the peculiar territorial possession of each as they often were in Greece, upon the boundary land. On the summit of a range of hills, on the watershed from which the fertilizing streams descended, at a point where the boundaries of two or three communities touched one another, was the proper place for the common periodical assemblage of the freemen, and such sites marked even to this day by a few venerable oaks may be observed in various parts of England."

Now this is precisely what we find with regard to the locality which has been under consideration, for here we have a spot where not only do three parishes abut, but adjoining Great Tom-acre is an isolated portion of a fourth parish—Feering—the village of which is about two miles distant. This enclosure appears to have been at one time well protected by a deep ditch on all sides, a great portion of which still exists.

A reference to the Ordnance Map (sheet xxxv., 1) shows that in the district which has been

under notice there are still artificial dykes of such importance that the Ordnance Surveyors were not content to mark them by the single line which they use to denote the ordinary hedge and ditch, but they show these wider and deeper ditches by double lines, with an interlineal colouring of blue. These dykes were, without doubt, at one time more extensive, but have been destroyed in later times by the agricultural practice of throwing several minor enclosures into one large field.

This little village then—a “village of the plain,” perhaps at different times occupied by Briton, Saxon, Goth, and Dane, appears to have had its sacred place of worship—Blessed-end—where “sat the Druid, hoary chief,” beneath the spreading oak, and afterwards the Christian priest, who not unmindful of the wise monition of St. Gregory, preserved many of the ancient customs of the pagan people; its Court of Justice, with the associated Keys gathering from time to time upon Tom-acre, or at Purr-hill; its humble dwellings centred in one spot, and protected by bank and ditch from the outer world of man and beast; its fields around cultivated by an open system of husbandry,

and girt in by thick-set woods, and by the placid stream, to which its people of the district gave the names of Pant and Blackwater. And now all is changed, blotted out for ever, its very name is lost !

William Hunter: The Young Martyr of Brentwood.

BY JOHN W. ODLING.

INDIVIDUAL lives, as well as history in general, may not be measured by days and years. The lives of multitudes who have attained to a "ripe old age" have frequently been devoid of interest and without apparent results; whilst on the other hand lives which have often been cut off in their prime have included most stirring events and have borne fruit in after years. So in the history of empires and nations, whole centuries have been less important in their influence and consequences than a few brief years in which mighty victories have been achieved or deeds—famous or infamous—have been enacted.

"We live in deeds, not years, in thoughts, not breaths,
In feelings, not in figures on a dial.
We should count time by heart-throbs. He most lives
Who thinks most, feels the noblest, acts the best."

The memory of William Hunter, the youthful

martyr, whose earthly race was so quickly run, is still verdant, though many generations have since dwelt amid the scenes of his troublous days.

Brief as was the period during which Mary Tudor swayed the sceptre over this nation, her reign and the incidents comprised within its limits stand out, and will continue to stand out, with conspicuous boldness in the annals of English history.

At Brentwood (formerly Burntwood) one of the fairest towns of our county, William Hunter was born, and there he lived and died, or rather was sacrificed to that fertile source of evil,—religious intolerance, the offspring of misguided zeal for the cause of religion.

During his childhood he had been carefully instructed in Biblical truth by godly parents. So firmly had the seed taken root that when, being an apprentice in the city of London, he was commanded to go to Mass and to receive the “blessed sacrament,” he stoutly refused to comply.

The royal proclamation issued by Mary after her accession required that all the subjects of the realm should quietly embrace the religion in which

the Queen herself had been nurtured by her royal mother, Catherine of Arragon, the first wife of Henry VIII. But there were many who "bowed not the knee to Baal," and who "counted not their lives dear unto them," that they might maintain liberty of conscience in matters of personal faith. The fierce bigotry of the Queen determined to conquer or destroy, but the terror of death was powerless to these brave spirits. William Hunter was one of nearly 300 who sealed their testimony with their life's blood in the limited period of this memorable reign. Under threat of complaint to the Bishop, he retired from London to his father's house at Brentwood. But he was not allowed to escape the Argus-eyed vigilance of his foes.

For six weeks only he remained at home. One day in the chapel he found a Bible upon the desk, which he began to read. Here he was espied by a "Summoner," eager to lay hands upon the heretic.

Said he: "What dost thou meddling with the Bible? Canst thou understand what thou readest, and canst thou expound the Scripture?" Hunter replied: "I take not upon me to expound the Scripture, but finding the Bible here I read it to my comfort."

"It was never a merry world since the Bible came forth in English," said his questioner. The youth responded: "Say not so for God's sake: for it is God's book, out of which every one that hath grace may learn how he ought to please God, and therefore I pray God that we may have the blessed Bible amongst us continually."

"I perceive your mind well enough," quoth he, "you are one of those that do not like the Queen's laws, but you and many more must turn over a new leaf, or you will broil for it."

"Pray God give me grace," Hunter answered, "that I may believe His word and confess His name whatever comes of it."

Whereupon the priest, vicar of the place, was called,—from an adjacent ale-house! He reviled and rebuked the lad, and proposing the usual test questions of the day declared, "Now I have found you out, now I see thou art an heretick."

This representative of the Church, as then by law established, also threatened to complain of Hunter. Forthwith taking leave of his father, he fled from the immediate danger. The zeal of the Church, whose Canon Law declares that "the execution of Papal commands for the persecution of heretics causes remission of sins," was stimulated

by this flight; it was not thus to be deprived of its prey. A neighbouring Justice, Sir Anthony Browne, sent for the father, and menaced him with imprisonment if the son were not delivered up. For two days the anxious father rode about in search of the fugitive. Having found him, he advised him to flee, but the noble youth determined to return home, and hold his parents harmless.

The die was cast.

From the inquisitorial questionings of Sir Anthony Browne, he was passed on to the notorious Bonner, whose arts and cruelties alike were ineffectual in moving the youth from the sure ground upon which his faith rested. For two days he lay in the stocks without food, after which, firmly refusing the overtures made, he was committed to prison, loaded with irons, and allowed one halfpenny a day upon which to live. Nine months thus passed away, during which he was brought, on no fewer than six different occasions, before the Bishop. Bonner finally pronounced the sentence of condemnation upon him, that he should go back to Newgate, and from thence to Brentwood to be burned. Notwithstanding this awful sentence, the Bishop actually offered Hunter, on recantation, the freedom of the City,

with £40 to set up his occupation, and also to make him a steward of his own house, for said the Bishop, "I see thou hast wit enough, and therefore I will prefer thee if thou wilt recant."

"If you cannot persuade my heart by Scripture arguments," was the response, "I will not turn from God for the love of the world, for I count all earthly things but dung and dross in respect of the love of Christ."

A month later he was taken from Newgate to his native town.

Human sympathy was at a discount, but divine grace strengthened the heroic soul of this unwavering youth. His parents rejoiced in his fidelity to the truth which they had taught him from a child. His mother said to him that she was glad that she ever bare such a child, who could find it in his heart to lose his life for Christ's sake. To this William replied, "For the little pain I shall suffer, which will soon be at an end, Christ hath promised me, mother, a crown of joy." His execution was postponed, so that it fell not on the "Annunciation of the Virgin Mary," because of the holiness of the day. But on the following day, Tuesday,

26th March, 1555, Sheriff Brocket prepared for the discharge of his shameful duty, and the victim was commanded to prepare himself for his fate. The sheriff's son embraced William, and encouraged him not to fear. "I thank God I am not afraid," replied he, "for I have reckoned what it will cost me already." On his way to the fatal spot his weeping father cried, "God be with thee, son William." Arrived at the stake, he kneeled down and read the fifty-first Psalm. Amid disputations carried on to this latest hour, the sheriff produced a letter from the Queen, promising life if even now he would recant; "If not, thou shalt be burned."

"I will not recant, God willing."

To his invitation to the people around to pray for him, Sir Anthony Browne responded cruelly, "I will no more pray for thee than I will pray for a dog." Yet like the proto-martyr for the cause of Christianity, he breathed out forgiveness, even to his murderers. He then prayed, "Son of God, shine on me," when suddenly the rays of the sun fell so brightly upon his face that he was forced to turn aside his head.

A priest now sought to awaken a brother's natural feelings of pity, and desired Robert

Hunter to carry a popish book to William, and urge him yet to recant. This, however, Robert refused to do. William called to the priest, "Away, thou false prophet, away!" bidding his hearers to "beware of them, and turn from their abominations, lest ye be partakers of their plagues."

Then said the priest, "Look! how thou burnest here, so shalt thou burn in hell."

Hunter answered, "Thou liest, thou false prophet, away thou false prophet, away!"

The faggots were then lighted, and lifting up his hands he uttered his latest words on earth, "Lord, Lord, Lord, receive my spirit!" Thus yielding up his life, the soul of this valiant confessor passed as in a chariot of fire to the God of Heaven, whom on earth he had served with humility, with courage, and with fidelity.

The old Roman road between London and Chelmsford runs directly through the pretty town of Brentwood. Entering from the west, we climb up the long steep High Street, at the top of which our attention is attracted by a tall obelisk, standing on a grassy piece of waste land on the right hand side. This consists of

polished blocks of red granite, resting upon a base of white granite. Inscriptions are engraved on each side as follows.—On the west side :

TO THE PIOUS MEMORY OF
WILLIAM HUNTER
A NATIVE OF BRENTWOOD
WHO MAINTAINING HIS RIGHT
TO SEARCH THE SCRIPTURES,
AND IN ALL MATTERS OF FAITH AND PRACTICE
TO FOLLOW THEIR SOLE GUIDANCE,
WAS CONDEMNED AT THE EARLY AGE OF NINETEEN,
BY BISHOP BONNER, IN THE REIGN OF QUEEN MARY,
AND BURNED AT THE STAKE
NEAR THIS SPOT,
MARCH XXVI MDLV.
HE YIELDED UP HIS LIFE FOR THE TRUTH
SEALING IT WITH HIS BLOOD
TO THE PRAISE OF GOD
ERECTED BY PUBLIC SUBSCRIPTION
1861.

On the east side :

WILLIAM HUNTER
MARTYR
COMMITTED TO THE FLAMES MARCH XXVI MDLV
CHRISTIAN READER, LEARN FROM HIS EXAMPLE
TO VALUE THE PRIVILEGE OF
AN OPEN BIBLE
AND BE CAREFUL TO MAINTAIN IT.
“ HE BEING DEAD YET SPEAKETH,”

On the south side :

HE WAS TORTURED, NOT ACCEPTING
DELIVERANCE
THAT HE MIGHT OBTAIN A BETTER
RESURRECTION.

On the north side :

BE THOU FAITHFUL UNTO
DEATH
AND I WILL GIVE THEE A
CROWN OF LIFE.

Turning now down the road to the right, along which Queen Elizabeth is said to have ridden to Tilbury, we observe the remnants of a famous old tree, nearly 20ft. in circumference, the outer portion of the trunk of which alone remains. Pains have been taken to prevent the disappearance of this tree, for the bricklayer has used his art to supplement nature. Its crumbling walls are supported by brickwork built within, presenting a strange sight indeed. Around the tree an iron palisading has been erected, further to aid in the preservation of so interesting a relic, for tradition holds that this was the "stake" to which the youthful martyr was bound. At any rate, it is the nearest spot which can be marked as the place where the tragedy was enacted.

On one side of this very road, immediately behind the "martyr's tree," stands the Grammar School, which owes its foundation and endowment to the same Sir Anthony Browne who but two years before its foundation had sought this lad's destruction.

Mark the irony of fate ! On the opposite side of the road stands a Roman Catholic Church !

Fairlop Fair.

BY JOHN W. ODLING.

TO see the East-End leading thoroughfares on the evening of the first Friday in July, is to behold one of the "sights of London." To look down from a window, or from the 'vantage ground of the knife-board of an omnibus, or the top of a tramcar, upon the sea of human faces in the Mile End Road, is to have imprinted upon the mind scenes which cannot quickly be effaced.

But the crowds which congregate now-a-days on that particular night of the year are small in comparison with the thronging multitudes which, in former years, issued forth from slum, from alley, and from by-way to welcome the return of the Fairlop Boat. And this, in spite of the frequent occasions on which the elements were unpropitious. For has it not passed into a proverb that "on Fairlop Friday it will be sure to rain, if only nine drops." Of course a special contingent of police was drafted into the neighbourhood, but

even then it was difficult to control the surging masses.

“What does it all mean?” asks one.

“Have you never heard of Fairlop Fair?”

“Yes, I have heard of it times without number, and I have seen the procession of late years on its homeward journey, but I never could get at the significance of the affair.”

“Ah, it is only a *relic* now ; yet it is a link in the chain of history, uniting the present to the days of yore.”

And not a few desire to maintain the customs of the good old times, albeit present-day necessities do not demand them.

Time was when Fairlop was a word to conjure with. Who in Essex that had not heard of it, for visitors, great and small, patronized it in their thousands once a year. But though Fairs might be wanted when wise King Alfred reigned, the day has come and gone when they are needed, for civilization has been spreading, and commerce has made rapid strides, even faster than have the centuries! So once famous FAIRLOP FAIR is but a memory with the aged—a record on history’s page.

An oak tree, venerable for antiquity, unique

for size, standing a monarch of the forest; a benevolent and eccentric philanthropist; a company of merry-makers: these were factors in the annual assembly in Hainault Forest.

The "Great Oak" had stood for hundreds of years (how many who can tell?), about three miles from Great Ilford, not far distant from the "Maypole" Inn, to the north of Barking Side. Around and underneath this forest-king the people gathered. It was of extraordinary dimensions,—according to the oldest records "its trunk measured sixty-six feet in girth,"* or some twenty-one feet in diameter. From this sprang seventeen immense limbs, each one of which might, for size, have served for an independent tree of normal growth, the branches themselves measuring twelve feet in girth. In the heyday of its glory the shade of the tree on a sunny day is said to have overspread an acre of ground. A correspondent to the *Illustrated London News* of 22nd November, 1851, where a cut of this oak tree as it appeared in 1790 is given, stated that when a boy he had "driven in a hot day from out of the hollow three horses and sometimes four or five cows."

* Later accounts state that it was forty-eight feet in girth, while some mention thirty-six feet as its size. The discrepancy may arise from the measurements being taken at different heights.

But thoughtless and reckless visitors were amongst those drawn to notice it, and these even made fires in the natural cavities which time had wrought. In 1805, it was considerably injured in this way by a gypsy party. Later on, it was fenced round with a close railing, and many were the expedients adopted to avert its decay. On a board at one time attached to the tree this inscription was written :

“ All good foresters are requested not to hurt this old tree, a plaster having lately been applied to its wounds.”

But the sturdy oak, which had braved many a battle and a breeze, dismembered and shorn of its former strength, succumbed to the violence of the elements in February, 1820.

At that time St. Pancras Church, near Euston Square, London, was in course of erection (which, by the way, cost £76,679), and from the trunk of the famous Fairlop Oak the beautiful carved pulpit and reading desk were made. The pulpit in Wanstead Church was also, it is said, made from it.

The benevolent Daniel Day, known by the quaint appellation of “ Good Day,” was the individual whose eccentricities have caused both Fairlop Oak and Fairlop Fair to become so celebrated. Born in Southwark (*temp.* Charles

II.), he afterwards resided in Wapping, noted for its nautical signs, its ship and boat-builders, its mast, oar, and block-makers. A block and pump-maker was Daniel Day,—and a successful man in business withal. As he never married, the kindness of his nature found objects for the expression of his generosity both in the children of his only sister and in the poor around him who sought not his aid in vain.

The origin of Fairlop seems to have lain in the fact that Daniel Day possessed a small estate near Hainault Forest. Thither he was in the habit of going shortly after midsummer to receive his rents, and being of a sociable nature, what more natural than that he should invite his friends and neighbours to share with him in a day's merry-making? The immense tree hard by was a grand trysting place, and to this the little company resorted on a certain day in July. Here they were regaled by their host on beans and bacon, which were supplemented by other fare from the wayside inns. So novel and so delightful an event did this prove that the company pledged themselves in drinking the health of their host to repeat the visit. Visitors came in increasing numbers with the rolling years. Public curiosity

was excited by the flocking people, as well as by the account of Nature's marvellous production, and so long ago as the year 1725 this favourite spot presented the appearance of a regular fair, with the customary booths, and wares, and amusements. The founder of the Fair himself provided a large quantity of bacon with several sacks of beans, which he distributed from the trunk of the tree. Thus beans and bacon came to be identified with the festival: a veritable "bean-feast." The old man, no longer able to walk to Fairlop, employed, in succession, several methods of getting to the spot, but, alike with his horse and mule and carriage, accidents occurred. This led him to desire that his remains should go by river to Barking. In this manner the Fairlop *Boat* was established. For years prior to his death, thirty or forty of the engine-makers, pump-makers, and block-makers of Wapping went to Hainault in a boat, not by water, but mounted on a coach-carriage drawn by six horses, with flags and streamers flying, accompanied by a band of music. This was called the "Charter" Boat, it being erroneously supposed that Fairlop Fair was held under Royal Charter. In subsequent times other Boats were instituted,

such as the Shipwrights' Boat, the Lightermen's Boat, etc., which, together, formed an attractive procession. These were accompanied by people in vehicles, on horseback, and even on foot. From 20,000 to 30,000 persons have visited the Fair on the Friday specially set apart, and the festivities continued on several subsequent days. With the extension of the Metropolitan Police area, the proceedings were to a large extent checked on the Sunday following. Not, however, until some years after the spot upon which Fairlop Oak stood was actually enclosed, did the visitors submit to the inevitable cessation of the fair.

For a time, the Honourable Pole-Tylney-Long-Wellesley, by his marriage with Miss Tylney Long, of Wanstead House, was Lord of the Manor containing the oak. Subsequently it became Crown land, and it is now in the occupation of a farmer.

Notwithstanding the discontinuance of the fair, the day is still observed for a procession and an annual outing. It is promoted by licensed victuallers who reap no small gains thereby. "The Fairlop Boat will stop here," is the wording of large posters at the various "houses" which benefit by the maintenance of the custom. The practice, until 1853, used to be to mark the site

by marching round the stump of the tree three times, and then to adjourn for dinner to the "Maypole," the "Bald Hind," and the "Roebuck." The return journey is so timed that the procession arrives in Mile End Road late in the evening, when the toiling masses can stroll forth and participate in the festival. Fireworks and coloured illuminations are exhibited from the boat itself and from the public-houses *en route*, and the latter part of the journey, delayed through sundry "calls" and the obstruction to the traffic which the occasion itself creates, is performed with the aid of torch-lights.

The centuries-old tree has disappeared. The eccentric founder of the fair was laid to rest in 1767, in Barking churchyard, in a coffin made under his own direction from a branch of his favourite tree. The merry-makers have been succeeded by others who seem not less intent upon gaining some of the pleasures of this world.

Thomas Tusser, and his "Five Hundred Points of Good Husbandry."

BY W. H. THOMPSON.

TUSSER, the author of the "Five Hundred Points of Good Husbandry," is one of those characters who have had the ill-luck to have their names handed down to posterity with an unfortunate reputation, which probably was not altogether warranted by their history. Quaint Thomas Fuller, in his "Worthies of Essex," says, "he was successively a musician, schoolmaster, serving man, husbandman, grazier, poet, more skillful at all, than thriving at any vocation. He traded at large in oxen, sheep, dairies, grain of all kind, to no profit. What he bought or sold he lost, and when a renter impoverished himself, and never enriched his landlord. Yet," he adds, "hath he laid down excellent rules in his book of husbandry and huswifry, so that the observer thereof must be rich." The belief that our author was a master

at giving advice, but lamentably shortcoming in practice, appears to have been very widespread. It is hit off in the following epigram :—

“Tusser, they tell me, when thou wert alive,
Though teaching thrift, thyself couldst never thrive.”

He may not have been successful in all his undertakings, but his will, published in 1846, would seem to prove that in his later years he certainly was not in poverty. Possibly his thriftiness itself may have been to some extent responsible for his reputation, and he may not have been so poor as he appeared to be.

Almost the only source we have of reliable information respecting Thomas Tusser, is his amusing poetical autobiography. Unfortunately this production is defective in dates. Belonging to a family, which we know from the Herald's visitation of 1570, had the right to bear arms, he was born at Rivenhall, near Witham, it is thought about the year 1515. Early displaying a musical gift, he was sent to be a chorister at the collegiate chapel at Wallingford Castle. Here he got coarse fare and rough treatment; and somewhat later he was “pressed” into the royal service. In those days the crown had the power to impress choristers to sing in the chapels royal.

Subsequently he went to Eton and Cambridge, and then for ten years he lived at court, as a sort of retainer to William, Lord Paget. At length he married and settled down as a farmer at Katwode, in Suffolk. It was here he published the first edition of his celebrated work, "A hundred good points of Husbandrie," which was at a later date enlarged to "Five Hundred pointes of good Husbandry, united to as many of good Huswiferie."

Tusser appears to have regarded a country life as the ideal of human felicity, and he certainly has left us one of the most interesting early pictures of the rural life of our ancestors which can be found anywhere. Southey speaks of his work as the "most curious book in the English language." He seems to have written it with the aim of benefitting the poorer classes, farmers, housewives, ploughboys, and the like. In it he catalogues weather signs, field work, agricultural duties, and wise saws; winding up with a strange medley of household rhymes, household physic, etc.

Amongst many other matters, this old poet's verses reveal the difficulties of a farmer's life in winter, at that period. It affords a lively picture

of the troubles he had in carrying his stock over that inclement season, before the days of field turnips; and of the miserable expedients which had to be resorted to in order to save his beasts from absolute starvation. He directs that all trees should be pruned of their superfluous boughs, that the cattle might browse upon them. The myrtle and the ivy are the wretched fare he points out for sheep.

Even spring did not end the anxieties of the farmer—

“From Christmas to May, be well entered in,
Some cattle wax faint, and look poorly and thin;
And chiefly when prime grass at first doth appear;
Then most is the danger of all the whole year.”

A curious table, dividing and describing the various periods in a man's life, forms part of the closing medley. It is well worth giving—

“Man's age divided here ye have
By 'prenticeships from birth to grave.
7. The first seven years bring up a child:
14. The next to learning, for waxing too wild.
21. The next keep under Sir Hobbard de Hoy,
28. The next a man no longer a boy.
35. The next, let Lusty lay wisely to wive;
42. The next, lay now, or else never, to thrive,
49. The next make sure for term of your life:

- " 56. The next, save somewhat for children and wife,
63. The next, be staid, give over thy lust,
70. The next, think hourly whither thou must,
77. The next, get chair and crutches to stay :
84. The next, to heaven, send us the way.
Who loseth their youth, shall rue it in age,
Who hateth the truth in sorrow shall rage."

Tusser died in London in the year 1580, and was buried at the church of St. Mildred, in the Poultry.

John Ray, Naturalist.

BY W. H. THOMPSON.

THERE is none to whom botany owes a greater debt than to John Ray, the son of the blacksmith of Black Notley. Linnæus, the founder of the "artificial" system, holds a high place, but it is the "natural" method of Ray, elaborated by Jussieu, Brown, and De Candolle, that forms the basis of all modern classification. If the story may be believed, science is indebted to an illness for the botanical researches of our naturalist. His health, like that of the late Charles Darwin, was not robust, and whilst at Cambridge, having broken down, he was compelled to remit his more arduous studies; and as a relief, or recreation, he began collecting and investigating the wild plants of the district. Thus was laid the foundation of his botanical knowledge.

John Ray, or Wray, as he at first wrote his name, was, as already intimated, the son of the blacksmith of Black Notley, where he was born

in 1628. Though of comparatively humble parentage, he yet received a good education at the neighbouring Grammar School of Braintree. He afterwards went to Cambridge, where he had for one of his companions, the famous Isaac Barrow. At the university he made rapid progress, and eventually became a fellow of his college.

The passing of the Uniformity Act, in 1661, caused a turning point in his career. Some time before he had taken holy orders, but he had held no living. Unable, however, to subscribe to the demands of the statute, he was compelled in 1662 to resign his fellowship. Fortunately he was better situated than numbers of his Nonconformist brethren. Whilst at Cambridge he had succeeded in drawing around himself a coterie of kindred spirits, interested in natural science. Amongst these was one of his pupils, subsequently his close friend, Francis Willughby. The latter was a man of considerable wealth, and when Ray left the university, he himself provided the naturalist means of support. During his college life Ray had commenced his itineraries in England, but now he and his friend set out on travels abroad of a far wider character,

collecting and making researches in the different flora and fauna. Ray took the department of botany, and Willughby that of zoology.

It fell to the lot of the former, to publish most of the investigations of both. Willughby died in 1672, leaving his friend an income of £60 per year, and Ray had not only to make known to the world his own botanical researches, but also that of the zoologist. His two great works "*Methodus plantarum nova*" and "*Historia generalis plantarum*," were published in 1682 and 1685 respectively. Besides these he issued a number of other books.

In 1673 he married Margaret Oakley, of Launton (Oxford), and in 1679, he again settled down at his native village, Black Notley. Here he remained until the close of his life, busied in scientific pursuits, and writing on botanical and zoological subjects. He died in 1705.

As a scientific thinker he was far ahead of his day. Not only did he lay the basis of modern plant classification, but the facts he also made known with respect to the animal kingdom were of a most important character. Concerning these no less a man than Cuvier says "they may

be considered as the foundation of modern zoology, for naturalists are obliged to consult them every instant for the purpose of clearing up the difficulties which they meet with in the words of Linnæus and his copyists."

Wanstead House.

BY JOHN T. PAGE.

IT is sad to wander through the rooms of a deserted house, sadder still to contemplate the ruined walls of a once noble structure, but saddest of all to stand on a spot whence all traces have disappeared of a proud and stately fabric.

Nature is beautiful, but nature is ruthless, and whenever man deserts a spot which he had covered with his handiwork, so surely does nature forthwith proceed to obliterate all evidences of his supremacy.

A turf-covered mound is all that now remains to mark the site of Wanstead House. A few yards west of this mound the placid lake which formerly mirrored the front of this magnificent building, still lies bosomed in the hill top, while further on, beyond the remains of the grand entrance gates, some portions of the avenues, which in former times radiated in several directions, may yet be seen. Northward stands

the church, and, almost hidden by a clump of trees, some farm buildings still remain to bear it company. Southward, at the foot of the slope, lie spread out numerous lakes and pools, and a short distance away eastward a glimpse is obtained of the large lake, lying at the end of a vista in the Roding Valley. Truly it is a lovely spot on which a little more than half-a-century ago stood Wanstead House. Erected in 1715 by the first Earl Tylney, the chief representative of a noble family then in the zenith of its fame, it existed for just over a century, and then in 1822 was razed to the ground and sold piecemeal.

The history of the Manor of Wanstead has run a devious course from the earliest times. Originally belonging to the Abbey of Westminster, it had become, near the end of the reign of Edward the Confessor, the property of the Cathedral Church of St. Paul. At the Domesday Survey it was held of the Bishop of London, by a certain Ralph Fitzbrian. From hand to hand it passed through many owners of different names along the centuries which preceded the Reformation. In the reign of Henry VIII. we find it in the possession of Sir Giles Heron, son-in-law of the worthy and hapless Sir Thomas More.

As, however, he refused to acknowledge the king's supremacy, he was attainted, and his estates confiscated. In 1549, Edward VI. granted the manor to Robert, Lord Rich, who rebuilt the house, and used it as a country residence. On August 1st, 1553, Queen Mary arrived at Wanstead in her progress from Norwich to London to assume the crown, and after receiving the politic congratulations of her sister Elizabeth, she proceeded to the Metropolis on August 3rd.

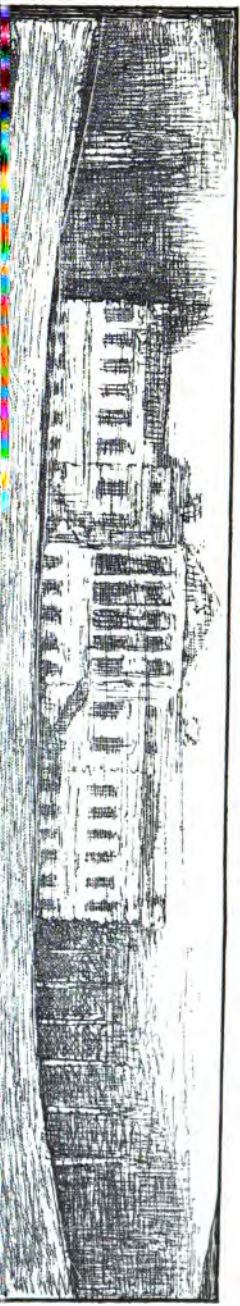
Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, having purchased the estates from Lord Rich's son, entertained Queen Elizabeth at Wanstead for five days in May, 1578. Philip Sydney wrote a masque in honour of the occasion, entitled "The Queen of May." It may here be noted that a picture of Elizabeth is still to be seen at Welbeck, which contains, as a back-ground, a view of Wanstead House as it appeared on the occasion of this visit. Leicester died in debt on September 4th, 1488, and a valuation, which has been preserved, was then made of his property. From this we learn that the whole of the furniture, pictures, horses, etc., at Wanstead were only considered worth £1,119 6s. 6d. The pictures, over forty

in number, were put down at £11 13s. 4d., and the library—which consisted of one old Bible, Foxe's Book of Martyrs (old and torn), Seven Psalters and a Service Book—at 13s. 8d. No less a sum than £4000 was spent over his lordship's funeral!

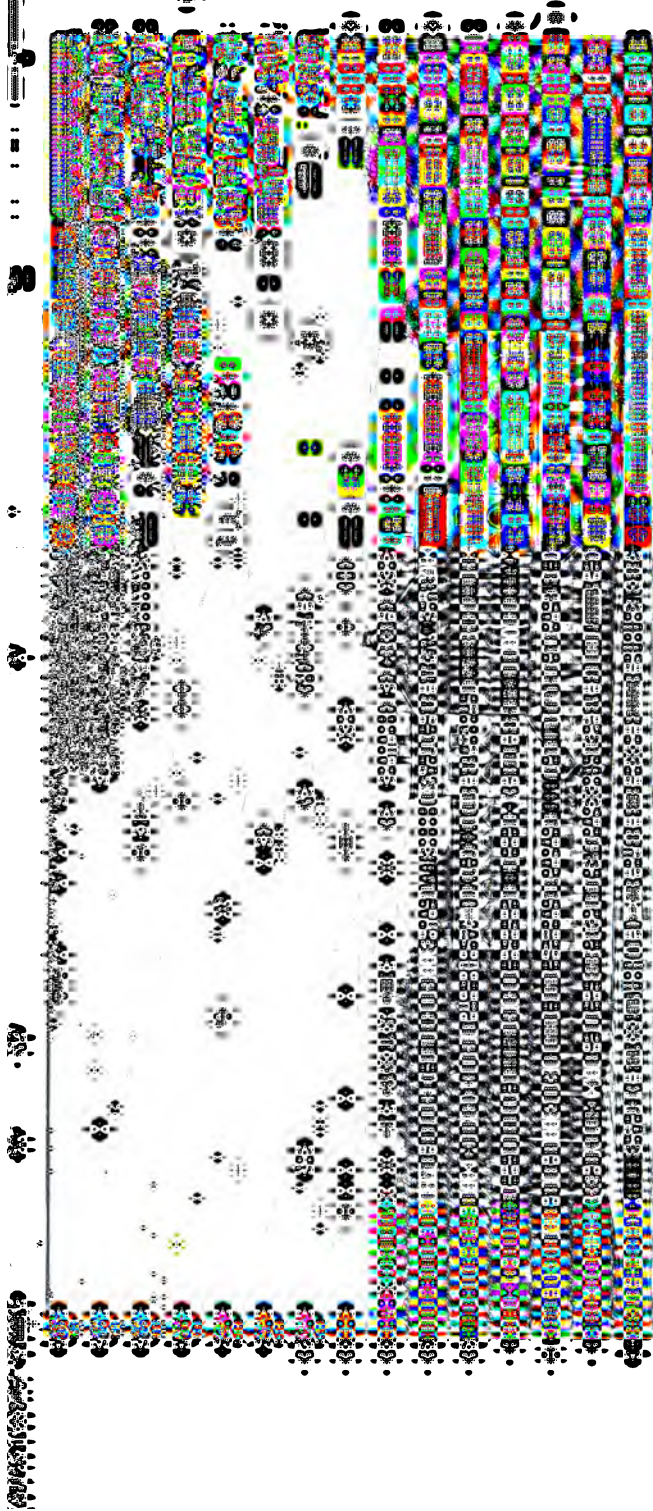
The Countess of Leicester, who was now owner of Wanstead, and several other estates in Essex, soon became the wife of Sir Christopher Blount. On April 3rd, 1606, the next heir, Charles Blount, Earl of Devonshire, died without legitimate issue, and his possessions became the property of the Crown. James I. used Wanstead as a halting-place on several occasions, and appears to have been rather partial to it.

In 1619, the Manor was purchased by Sir Henry Mildmay, Master of the Jewel Office, but as he officiated as one of the Judges at the trial of Charles I., his estates were eventually forfeited, and Wanstead once more came into the possession of the Crown. James, Duke of York, received it as a present from his brother Charles II., and in 1662 sold it to Sir Robert Brooke. The following quotations from Pepys's Diary are too characteristic not to be introduced at this point:—

(14th May 1665, Whit Sunday) "I took a coach,



WANSTEAD HOUSE.



and to Wemstead (*sic*), the house where Sir H. Mildmay died, and now Sir Robert Brookes lives, having bought it of the Duke of York, it being forfeited to him. A fine seat, but an old-fashioned house; and being not full of people looks flatly."

(1 May, 1667) "Sir W. Pen did give me an account this afternoon of his design of buying Sir Robert Brookes's fine house at Wansted: which I so wondered at, and did give him reasons against it, which he allowed of: and told me that he did intend to pull down the house and build a less, and that he should get 1500*l.* by the old house, and I know not what fooleries. But I will never believe he intended to buy it, for my part, though he troubled Mr. Gauden to go and look upon it, and advise him in it."

In 1667, Sir Josiah Child became the purchaser of the Manor of Wanstead, and the estate was much improved under his superintendence. John Evelyn thus refers to a visit paid on 16th March, 1683:—

"I went to see Sir Josiah Child's prodigious cost in planting walnut trees about his seate, and making fish-ponds, many miles in circuit, in Epping Forest, in a barren spot, as oftentimes

these suddainly monied men for the most part seate themselves."

The remains of Sir Josiah Child's tree-planting may still be seen in the splendid avenue of limes which runs across that part of Epping Forest known as Bush Wood. Sir Josiah died in 1699, and was buried in Wanstead Church. His monument may still be seen in the chancel of the present church ; it is in a splendid state of preservation, and bears on its front a long and characteristic inscription in Latin. His son, Richard, was created Viscount Castlemaine in 1718, and first Earl Tylney in 1732. While still known as Sir Richard Child, he pulled down the old Manor House, and, from plans prepared by Colin Campbell, built on its site a structure of great magnificence. It is said that if the original design had been carried out, Wanstead House would have been "without a parallel in all Europe." As it was, there were very few houses which rivalled it in England.

It was constructed of Portland stone, and covered an area 260 feet long by 70 feet deep. The grand front was adorned in the centre by a noble portico of six Corinthian columns. This portico was ascended by a double flight of stone

steps, and in the tympanum were the family arms, while over the door which led into the great hall was a medallion of the architect. The building consisted of two stories, and contained fifty-eight rooms, besides domestic offices, etc.

Under date 17th July, 1775, Horace Walpole, in a letter to Richard Bentley, thus alludes to a visit paid :—

“I dined yesterday at Wanstead ; many years have passed since I saw it. The disposition of the house and prospect are better than I expected, and very fine. The garden—which, they tell you, cost as much as the house, that is £100,000—is wretched ; the furniture fine, but without taste. The present Earl is the most generous creature in the world ; in the first chamber I entered, he offered me four marble tables that lay in cases about the room. I compounded, after forty refusals of everything I commended, to bring away only a haunch of venison. I believe he has not had so cheap a visit a good while. I commend myself as I ought ; for, to be sure, there were twenty ebony chairs, and a couch, and a table, and a glass, that would have tried the virtue of a philosopher of double my size.”

On the death of the second Earl Tylney, in

1782, the Wanstead estates devolved upon Sir James Tylney Long, who built the present church in 1789-90. Sir James died in 1794, leaving a young son and daughter. The son did not live to attain his majority, and thus Wanstead became the property of Miss Katherine Long; who, with a fortune of some £75,000 a year, was now one of the richest ladies in England. She was eagerly sought after by many suitors, and on March 14th, 1812, was married with great pomp at St. James's Church, Piccadilly, to the Honourable William Pole Wellesley, who thereupon assumed the surname of Pole-Tylney-Long-Wellesley. Under this name he figures in "Rejected Addresses" in the single line—

"Long may Long-Tylney-Wellesley-Long-Pole live."

It took this gentleman just ten years to squander his wife's princely fortune. In 1822 she saw the whole of the furniture of her noble mansion disposed of under the hammer, and the following year the mansion itself razed to the ground in order that her husband's creditors might get what they could by carting away its stones. Need we wonder that in 1825 she died of a broken heart? Surely it would be impossible to find another case in which a life with such bright prospects came to so sad and premature an end!

Hopkins, the Witchfinder.

BY FREDERICK ROSS, F.R.H.S.

BETWEEN the natural and the supernatural, there exists a screen, so far as we mortals are concerned, impenetrable, beyond which we cannot pass ; neither can we form any conception of what is on the other side. Whether the denizens of the supernatural state of existence have the power of regarding it as a transparent medium, or are able to pass through it and visit the earth or any other worlds of the universe, we have no means of knowing : certain it is that we have no well authenticated cases of intercourse between the two classes of being on the opposite sides of the screen.

From the most remote periods of the world's history, and from every part of the earth's surface, particularly from Chaldea, Babylonia, Judea, Egypt, Greece, Rome, Modern Asia, Europe, and Africa, have pretenders arisen, professing to have a knowledge of the invisible world, to be able to operate upon it by means of charms and divination

and foretell future events. By these professions have they been enabled to delude simple, ignorant, and credulous people, and extract money from them. Nor are they yet extinct: the spirit rappers and fortune tellers still find plenty of dupes, not only among the illiterate of remote villages, but amongst the educated and apparently intelligent classes of our cities and towns.

But of all the species of supernatural delusion, and that which has been the most widely prevalent and most barbarously treated for its suppression, and which, moreover, has ever been of the lowest, most vulgar, and coarse character, has been witchcraft.

In the early ages, the race of enchanters, soothsayers, magicians, prophets, and diviners, were not looked upon as evil persons or influenced by Satan, but generally as endowed with superhuman powers, which they made use of for purposes beneficial to mankind, but of whom there were some who exercised their powers for malicious ends; and it seems to have been a fact that our predecessors, of the long ago past, had a knowledge of many occult secrets of nature of which we know nothing, made use of ventriloquism, conjurer's sleight-of-hand tricks to accomplish

their frauds and impose upon their dupes: the Hindoos even asserted that by their magical incantations, they could acquire a control over their deities. Hence, a distinction was made between the two classes, the beneficent being fostered and protected and the malevolent subjected to penalties and death, as for instance, the penal laws against those who should injure by sorcery or conjure away the fruits of the earth; and by the laws of Moses those pretenders were punished with death. In the early ages of the world, magicians and enchanters were men of the higher orders of intellect, who had investigated the laws of nature and were ranked amongst the scientists of the time, without any reference to diabolic agency.

But about the time of the nativity there uprose the coarse and vulgar system of modern witchcraft, or witchcraft proper; which raged throughout Europe through the middle ages, down almost to the present time, nor is the belief altogether eradicated even yet; lingering as it still does in the less intelligent parts of the world.

According to popular opinion, the Prince of Darkness, perceiving that the death of the Saviour was robbing him of a great number of

his subjects, invented the system of witchcraft to lure them back, and addressed his seductions and persuasions to the weaker sex, having learnt, from his experience in Paradise, that the woman was more open to his wiles and allurements than the man. In seeking for recruits, Satan does not seem to have displayed much taste, his votaries being usually, ugly, haggard, ill-favoured, and deformed old women. He entered into a compact with them for their souls, they on their part renouncing God, Jesus Christ, and the Virgin Mary, trampling on the cross, and giving up their souls to him after a certain length of years: he imparting to them the power of working mischief to others, and a certain duration of life, the compact being signed with the victim's blood, and the ceremony sealed in a carnal fashion. In these bargains the Devil appears to have had the best, for with all their diabolical power witches do not appear to have been able to work much good for themselves, being always poor and miserable.

Occasionally would he call a convocation of his witch-subjects, who, after anointing their bodies with the fat of murdered or unbaptised children, would ride to the place of meeting, astride of

broomsticks, through the air. The archfiend himself presided over these witch sabbaths, as they were called, with witches, imps, and demons gathered round him, who did homage to him by kneeling and kissing the hinder part of his body ; after which followed a feast without bread or salt and a dance back to back to the music of bagpipes, concluding with obscene debauchery.

There have been many penal statutes enacted against witchcraft, one of the most famous being that of Pope Innocent VIII., in 1484, who issued a bull, known as the "*Summis Desiderantes*," directing Inquisitors and others in authority to put to death all practisers of witchcraft and diabolical incantations, which was followed by similar bulls from other Popes, which caused the deaths by burning, drowning, and hanging of vast multitudes of wretched old women, computed by Dr. Sprenger at nine millions ; a penalty based on the Hebrew Law of 1491 B.C., which decreed :—"Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live," the word witch being a mistranslation, not meaning a witch in the modern acceptance of the term, but poisoners and the practisers of charms and incantations to work evil to others.

The word witch is only mentioned twice in the Old Testament, and was in those cases adopted by the translators in consequence of the belief in witchcraft raging in England with so much fury at that time. Statutes were passed by Henry VIII., Elizabeth, and James I., constituting it felony, without the benefit of clergy; and similar acts were passed in every European country, which were carried out with the most barbarous cruelty. Joan of Arc was put to death for practising witchcraft in her victories; and, in 1309, several Knight Templars were executed for the same crime, really because they were rich, and would have to disgorge their wealth. In 1627-29, 157 reputed witches were burnt in Wurtemberg. In 1676 or thereby, seventeen or eighteen were burnt, at the stake, at St. Osyth, in Essex. Dr. Zachary Grey, the editor of an edition of "*Hudibras*," asserts that not less than three thousand were executed for witchcraft during the existence of the Long Parliament. But what is most remarkable is the fact that the Pilgrim Fathers, who fled from the intolerance of England to the wilds of America, became the most virulent persecutors of heretics and witchcraft. At Salem alone, in 1692, the Puritans

hanged nineteen witches, condemned eight others, and pardoned fifty after confession.

During what are very accurately styled the dark ages, the belief in witchcraft became so firmly fixed, in its more vulgarised form, as an article of implicit faith, that it was pronounced by the Church to be not only heresy in itself, but equally so to distrust its existence, incredulity being considered as heinous a sin as disbelief in the personification of the principle of evil. Even the learned Bishop Jewell, in a sermon preached before Queen Elizabeth, in 1598, observed :—" It may please your Grace to understand that witches and sorcerers, within the last four years, are marvellously increased within your Grace's Realm. Your Grace's subjects pine away, even unto the death,—their colour fadeth—their flesh rotteth—their speech is benumbed—their senses are bereft," etc.

The superstition began to die out, although very slowly, in the seventeenth century, and the penal laws for the punishment of witches were abrogated in 1736, although so recently as 1664 the intelligent and humane Sir Matthew Hale condemned two women to be executed for the crime ; and the Rev. Cotton Mather, of New

England, a man esteemed as a marvel of piety and learning, was one of the chief instigators of the persecution, torture, and death of the witches of New England. Even to comparatively recent times the superstition has lingered. In 1716, a Mrs. Hicks and her daughter, aged nine, were hanged at Huntingdon, for selling their souls to the Devil. In the same county, at Great Paxton, near St. Neots, so recently as 1806, the ignorant peasantry took it into their heads that a poor harmless old woman was a witch, and had bewitched three young girls, overturned a cart, and committed other misdeeds, for which they dragged her from her bed and house, and abused her nearly to death, until she succeeded in gaining refuge in the clergyman's house. A gentleman, a magistrate, writes to the *Times*, in 1857, that the preceding year he had an application from some of his neighbours to have a witch "proved." Not longer ago than 1863 a wizard, as he was called, was drowned in a pond at Hedingham, in Essex, but it was remarkable that the perpetrators were of the lower trading class, the farm labourers not joining in the murder; and a few years after, a man, calling himself Dr. Harris, was committed for trial at Radnor on a charge

of extorting money from his dupes by pretending to cure them of their ailments, caused, as he asserted, by witchcraft, and which he persuaded them he was able to effect by means of counter charms.

At the close of the Elizabethan age, when the witch frenzy was at its height, when Popes and Ecclesiastics, Monarchs and Statesmen, Judges and Juries, entertained no hesitation in accepting the belief as an unquestionable fact—when the sapient King James VI. of Scotland and I. of England published his famous treatise on *Dæmonology*, in 1597, writes:—"The fearful abounding at this time and this country of these detestable slaves of the Devil, the witches or enchanterers, hath moved us . . . against the damnable opinions of two, whereof one called Scot . . . is not ashamed in public print to deny that there can be such a thing as witchcraft, and so maintains the old error of the Sadducees in denying of spirits." At this time it was that a certain class of persons sprung up in various parts of the country, who seeing a means of making money for themselves by subjecting poor, helpless, decrepit old women to cruel tortures and death, set up the profession

of witch-finders, and went over the country from town to town and village to village, wherein they were countenanced or authorised by the magistrates and corporations, and were recompensed by donations for every case of conviction. In 1649, the town of Newcastle was infested by witches, and a witch-finder was procured by the magistrates from Scotland, who stripped the accused and pricked them with pins in various parts of their bodies to discover the devil's mark. Condemning, as witches, twenty-seven out of thirty that were brought before him, of whom fifteen (fourteen women and one man) were put to death.

One of the most famous of this fraternity, at any rate the one best known and remembered by succeeding generations, was an Essex man named Matthew Hopkins, a vile impostor, like all the rest; unscrupulous, unprincipled, and utterly regardless of the sufferings he inflicted on others, so long as he could put money in his own pocket, better remembered than others perhaps by being more audacious and insolent, and less observant of the restraints of religion, morality, or decorum, than such as had adopted the profession without altogether throwing off the scruples of conscience and the ordinary rules of civil communities.

This vile scoundrel appears to have been born in Essex, or the neighbourhood, in the earlier period of the seventeenth century, and in 1644 was living at Manningtree. What his antecedents were does not appear, but about the time of the breaking out of the Civil War, he turned his attention towards the evil doings of witches, and the detection of them by pricking them with pins in places on their bodies where the Devil had placed his marks, making himself very conspicuous by his discovery of such marks, and withal very useful to the magistrates and other authorities in ferreting out "such cattle," as he termed them, gaining so much credit by his skill, that he assumed the title of "Witchfinder General," and travelled regularly through the Eastern Counties in the pursuit of his profession. His charges were twenty shillings for visiting a town, his living whilst there, and his travelling expenses, and those of two assistants, always putting up at the best inn in the place; besides which he claimed twenty shillings a head for all the witches that he brought to execution. There is extant a very rare print representing Hopkins examining two witches, who are explaining to him the names of their Imps and

Familiars, which are depicted in the foreground. He himself is represented in a Puritanical garb, a broad brimmed hat, Geneva cloak, and trooper's boots, with a long walking-staff in his hand, used evidently, from the spurs on his heels, rather as a mark of authority, than as a walking-staff.

His favourite hunting grounds were the Counties of Essex, Huntingdon, Norfolk, and Sussex, where he itinerated regularly for the extirpation of witches. His usual modes of procedure were to strip the poor old creatures and prick them for the discovery of the identifying marks; to weigh them against the Church Bible, and if found lighter, to condemn them. Another method of proof was to set the accused to repeat the Lord's Prayer and the Creed which no witch could do correctly; but Hopkins' usual ordeal was to cause the suspected old woman to be stripped of her clothing and have her hands and feet tied cross wise, the right thumb and the left great toe, and the left thumb to the right toe. Then when thus manacled, she was wrapped in a sheet and cast into a pool of water. If she sank and was drowned, she was declared to be innocent, but if she floated and was rejected by the baptismal element, she was proved to be

guilty, and was sent forthwith to the stake. This method of proving the crime was recommended by King James in his *Demonologie* as an infallible test. In one year Hopkins brought sixty poor creatures to the stake for this pretended crime.

On one occasion, when making a professional visitation of Huntingdonshire, the living of Houghton, a village between Huntingdon and St. Ives, was held by a Rev. John Gaule, an enlightened man, who denied the belief in witches, and wrote several pamphlets on the question, one entitled, "An exposure of some of the nefarious acts of witchfinders," which was specially directed against Hopkins and his barbarities, and charging him with being "a common nuisance," to which he replied in an angry and authoritative tone to the functionaries of Houghton, stating that he had intended making a special visitation of their town, but desired to know if it contained many "such sticklers for witchcraft as Mr. Gaule," also whether they were willing to receive and entertain him with the customary hospitality if he so far honoured them with his presence, adding by way of menace that if he did not receive a satisfactory reply "he would wave their shire altogether, and

go instead where he might do and punish, not only without control but with thanks and recompenses." This threat, however, did not dismay the good people of Houghton, who took no notice of either him or his threat.

From the year 1644, for a few years downwards, through the civil war and the Long Parliament, Hopkins carried on a lucrative trade in witch-proving, through the Eastern Counties, where, with the sanction of the authorities he sent hundreds of poor wretches to the stake. Butler, in his "*Hudibras*," thus refers to Hopkins.

"Hath not this present parliament
A lieger to the Devil sent,
Fully empowered to treat about
Finding revolted witches out?
And has he not within a year
Hang'd three score of them in the shire?
Some only for not being drown'd
And some for sitting above ground
Whole days and nights upon their breeches,
And feeling pain, were hang'd for witches;
And some for putting Knavish tricks
Upon green geese or turkey chicks;
Or pigs that suddenly deceased
Of griefs unnatural, as he guessed:
Who proved himself at length a witch,
And made a rod for his own breech."

Eventually, after a fairly long career of success

in murder and money making, his mendacious impostures and false charges excited the indignation of the public. When passing through Suffolk during one of his visitations, he was accused of being in league himself with the Devil, and was charged with having stolen from him a memorandum book containing a list of all the witches in England, which he obtained by means of sorcery. Of course he denied his guilt, but was put by the mob to his own swimming test. Some say he was drowned, others that he floated and was condemned on other evidence and executed. There is no record of his trial, but from that time we hear no more of him, the probability being that he met with his death at the hands of the populace.

An Essex Poet.

BY THE REV. GEO. S. TYACK, B.A.

THERE are some people who, without any necessary insincerity, are called upon to act two very different parts in the great drama of history ; such a one was the Essex worthy who forms the subject of this paper. Reading the life of Francis Quarles, or a volume of his songs, we find ourselves in company with a politician of an age in which politics admitted of no middle course, a courtier, a satirist, the defender of Church and King, and a sufferer for Royalty and loyalty in the tempestuous days of the first Charles. But on opening other volumes of his works in prose or verse, we seem to hear the grave even tones of the moralist and philosopher, who, in quaint terms and with manifold conceits, reminds us of the vanity of things temporal, of the littleness of earthly greatness, of the reality of death and eternity.

Francis Quarles was born of a good family at

Stewards, in the Parish of Romford, in 1592. According to the custom of the time he entered upon a University course at an age when boys are now at school, and we find him already at Christ's College, Cambridge, in 1608. The career marked out for him, by his own will, or the government of circumstances, was that of the law, and he was entered accordingly at Lincoln's Inn. A very different lot however befell him. In some way, how we do not hear, he became a favourite at the court of James I., and obtained the post of cup-bearer to that monarch's daughter, Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia. This post, whose title at any rate is rather a romantic one, he cannot have held long, for in 1621 he was Secretary to Ussher, just then appointed Bishop of Meath, and subsequently (in 1625) Archbishop of Armagh. In the same year (1621) Quarles first appears in the character of a poet, publishing a pastoral romance, called "*Argalus and Parthenia*." Nearly twenty years later, in 1640, he was appointed City Chronologer by the Corporation of London, at a salary of one hundred nobles per annum, part of the duty of his office being the arrangement of the civic pageants. This post, his widow in his

biography tells us, "he held to his death, and would have given that city (and the world) a testimony that he was their faithful servant, if it had pleased God to blesse him with life to perfect what he had begun."

There is a line in one of Pope's satires which speaks of a pension conferred on the poet by Charles I. :—

"The hero William, and the martyr Charles,
One knighted Blackmore, and one pensioned Quarles ;" *

but of this there is no evidence, and the statement is probably a mistake.

But Quarles's career was not to be an unbroken course of easy promotion. The storm, long brewing, broke upon King and court, and he had his share, or more than his share, of suffering in consequence ; his property was damaged and then confiscated, his books and manuscripts plundered, and his health irretrievably impaired. One might have thought that his religious writings, so much more in accord with the prim puritanism of his persecutors than with the habits of thought of his royalist friends, would have pleaded for him ; but evidently the line of demarcation between Tory and Roundhead was too clearly defined to

* *Imitations of Horace*, Bk. ii., Ep. i., line 386.

allow of exceptions, and Quarles the sacred poet must suffer for Quarles the royalist.

The cup of his sufferings was filled to the brim by an act that is most eloquent of the bigotry and intolerance of the parliamentary faction. He had written a pamphlet called "The Loyal Convert," in which he argued in favour of employing Roman Catholics in the King's army. Upon the strength of this, which to us would seem so innocent a suggestion, he was denounced as a papist, and the little remnant of his property was seized by order of the parliament. Quarles took both the accusation and its punishment so gravely to heart, that his death is said to have been mainly caused thereby, on the 8th September, 1644. He left a widow, Ursula Quarles, who wrote his life, and a family of eighteen children ; and was buried in S. Vedast's, Foster Lane.

In addition to the pastoral mentioned above, Quarles left behind him a number of poems ; the "Divine Fancies," "Divine Poems" (containing a metrical history of Samson, Esther, Job, and Jonah), "Sion's Eligies," "The Morning Muse," "Job Militant," "The Feast of Worms," "The Divine Emblems," and some political and satirical verses. He was the author also of a comedy

entitled "The Virgin Widow," written probably about 1632, but not published till 1649; and of some prose works, including his unlucky pamphlet, "The Loyal Convert," and the "Enchiridion," a collection of four hundred moral and religious maxims, terse and quaint in expression, and striking and original in thought.

Out of all these works, the one that has preserved the memory of Quarles is "The Divine Emblems," one of those books which have gained more appreciation from posterity than from the public to whom they were first given, although this early obtained popularity among the poor and unlearned. Wood (1632-1695) calls our author, in terms rather cruel to one who had suffered so much in the cavaliers' cause, "an old puritanical poet, the sometimes darling of our plebeian judgments;" and Philips, a nephew of Milton's, tells us that his writings "have been, and still are, in wonderful veneration among the vulgar."

This work, published in 1645, and frequently since reprinted, is an English paraphrase of a book by the Belgian Herman Hugo. This learned and pious Jesuit published in 1632 a volume of elegiac verse, founded upon passages of scripture,

under the title of "*Pia Desideria*." The emblematic woodcuts, quaintly conceived and rudely executed, which adorned this book, Quarles reproduced, and translated or paraphrased the explanations which accompanied them and pointed their moral. It is this arrangement that gives occasion for Pope's sneer at books

"where the pictures for the page atone,
And Quarles is saved by beauties not his own." *

The style of Quarles is marked to excess with the characteristics of much of the writing of his day; quaint and fanciful even to grotesqueness, full of unexpected turns and almost ludicrous conceits. Sometimes, too, there is a lack of music in his verse; how harsh, for example, are the closing lines of the following stanza from a poem on "*The Vanity of the World*":—

"Thy babbling tongue tells golden tales
Of endless treasure ;
Thy bounty offers easy sales
Of lasting pleasure ;
Thou ask'st the Conscience what she ails,
And swear'st to ease her :

There's none can want where thou supply'st,
There's none can give where thou deny'st,
Alas ! fond world, thou boast'st : false world thou ly'st."

But in spite of the awkward garb in which our

* *Dunciad* Bk. i., 139.

poet has arrayed himself, he is still able often to move with grace and dignity, and sometimes to trip right merrily. This verse, from one of his satirical pieces, for instance, runs glibly enough :—

“ We'll down with all the *'Varsities*,
 Where learning is professed,
 Because they practise and maintain
 The language of the beast,
 We'll drive the doctors out of doors,
 And arts, whate'er they be ;
 We'll cry both arts and learning down,
 And hey ! then up go we ! ”

In the following there is surely true poetry in the touching simile by which he enforces the blessedness of penitence :—

“ The ingenuous child, corrected, does not fly
 His angry mother's hand ; but climbs more nigh,
 And quenches with his tears her flaming eye. ”

And in this also :—

“ E'en as a nurse, whose child's imperfect pace
 Can hardly lead his foot from place to place,
 Leaves her fond kissing, sets him down to go,
 Nor does uphold him for a step or two ;
 But when she finds that he begins to fall
 She holds him up, and kisses him withal ;—
 So God from man sometimes withdraws His hand
 Awhile, to teach his infant faith to stand ;
 But when He sees his infant strength begin
 To fail, He gently takes him up again. ”

But Quarles can rise to grander tones than these; take one more illustration, which has almost a Miltonic ring:—

“Alas! my light-in-vain-expecting eyes
Can find no objects but what rise
From this poor mortal blaze, a dying spark
Of Vulcan's forge, whose flames are dark,—
A dangerous, dull, blue-burning light,
As melancholy as the night: *
Here's all the suns that glisten in the sphere
Of earth: Ah me! what comfort's here?
Sweet Phosphor, bring the day.
Haste, haste away

Heaven's loitering lamp: sweet Phosphor, bring the day,”

Of our Francis's eighteen children, one (John) inherited his father's political sympathies, ill-fortune, and poetic gift. He served in the garrison of Oxford, being himself a member of Exeter College, during the Civil War; was brought to great poverty by the overthrow of the cause which he supported; and died of the plague in London, in 1665. We will close this paper with the opening lines of a touching elegy written by him on the death of

* “A dungeon horrible, on all sides round
As one great furnace flam'd, yet from those flames
No light, but rather darkness visible.”

—*Paradise Lost*, I., 60.

“*Paradise Lost*” was not published till 1667.

his own and his father's friend, Archbishop
Ussher :—

“Then weep no more ; see how his peaceful breast
Rocked by the hand of Death, takes quiet rest.
Disturb him not, but let him sweetly take
A full repose ! He hath been long awake.”

Historic Harwich.

THIS ancient Essex town is chiefly interesting to the general reader by those incidents in its history which associate it with the wider realm of national affairs; although its municipal and commercial history and its connection with the house of Devonshire are not void of interest.

Time has dealt somewhat ungently with the old town, robbed it of some of its ancient importance, and laid the hand of decay upon the monuments of a remoter and more active time. Castle and walls have fallen, no lordly or monastic towers add dignity to this unpretentious port; but it takes to itself a special interest as being the successor of the still older port of Orwell, once standing some five miles further to the East, near the point now known as the West Rocks. Ages ago the encroaching sea pressed upon the mariners of Orwell, and compelled them to leave hearth and altar, homestead and warehouse, to become the sport of winter tempests

and surging waters, that gradually covered its melancholy conquest from the sight of man ; although, so late as the last century, it would occasionally reveal, at extreme low-water, some fragments of ancient masonry.

The new settlement steadily developed into a mediæval port, girt with strong walls, and further defended by a castle with lofty towers and massive walls. But time has carried away those relics of a troublous past, and now fort Landguard keeps grim watch with its heavy guns over the approach to the harbour—a noble expanse of water, which has safely harboured 100 men-of-war and 400 merchantmen, without a single casualty, through the fury of a severe storm.

Long ere Harwich rose from the ruins of Orwell, the Roman legionary carried the Imperial Eagle in the locality : after the Roman came the Saxon and Dane, and upwards of a thousand years ago, A.D. 884, King Alfred's fleet engaged the invader. Thus the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle :—
“And that same year King Alfred sent a fleet from Kent to East Anglia. So soon as they came to the mouth of the Stour, there met them sixteen ships of pirates ; and they fought against

them, and captured all the ships and killed the men. As they afterwards returned homeward with the booty, a large fleet of pirates met them, and then fought against them that same day, and the Danish men had the victory."

The convulsions of the Conquest passed, Edward II. occupied the throne; and Harwich, walled and armed, was a prosperous port, when, at home and abroad, the conspiracy against the king was taking deadly form. On the 24th September, 1326, Queen Isabella landed at Harwich, from Dordt. She was accompanied by the Earl of Kent, and her well-appointed army was speedily reinforced by the Earls of Leicester and Norfolk. A chapter of sanguinary incidents followed: Edward fled to the Welsh, leaving the Bishop of Exeter in charge of the capital. Him the citizens seized, struck off his head, and cast his body into the Thames. The aged Earl of Winchester was surrendered into the Queen's hands at Bristol. Sir William Trussell sentenced him; and after being hung, disembowelled, and beheaded, his mangled quarters were cast to the dogs of Bristol. The ruin of the younger Spencers followed, and the tragedy was consummated by

Edward's untimely end at Berkeley Castle. In due course the young King turned upon the adulterous Queen and her paramour; hung Mortimer at the Elms, and shut up Isabella in her house at Risings.

In 1339, the French made a sharp attempt upon Harwich, attacking with eleven ships, and endeavouring to set it on fire. After a smart engagement they were driven off. The next year the avenger came in the person of King Edward, who sailed from the harbour with 260 vessels, and fell upon the French fleet of 400 sail at Sluys. The battle was characterised by the utmost rancour and desperation, and after eleven hours of murderous slaughter was undecided, when the French, making a movement to withdraw, under cover of the closing twilight, the battle was resumed, and ended in the destruction of the French fleet, of which only thirty vessels effected their retreat. The French lost 12,000 men, Edward 4,000. During the battle a great ship, a Hull galley, was overwhelmed by a shower of stones, and went down with all on board. Edward took many guns from the enemy, and was complimented by the title of the King of the Seas. On his return, he landed at Harwich,

and doubtless received a most hearty welcome from the burghers.

Harwich boasts other royal visits, interesting only to the burghers at the time. A.D. 1579, Queen Elizabeth was so well pleased with the loyal welcome and liberality of the burghers, that, on taking her leave, she enquired of the officials what they required of her; the reply, "Nothing but to wish your Majesty a good journey," elicited the complimentary remark, "A pretty town, and wants nothing."

In 1666-7, during the deplorable and cruelly sanguinary Dutch war, Harwich maintained its numerous fortifications intact, and when the enemy landed 3,000 men to storm fort Landguard, Captain Dorrell, the commander, gave them so hot a reception that they beat a precipitate retreat to their boats. Ten years later we find the fortifications still kept up, the principal approach to the town being defended by a drawbridge and ravelin.

During the Dutch war a royal shipbuilding yard was in full activity at Harwich, and was maintained throughout the French wars, but when Europe settled down after Waterloo, the Government withdrew its interest, and the

industry passed into private hands. But with peaceful days the stir and profits of the old time have also passed away, and doubtless it would take many long years to reconcile the townspeople to these changed and comparatively unprofitable times.

Old Bow Bridge.

BY JOHN T. PAGE.

THE point where Bow Bridge spans the river Lea is about three miles from the city of London. It may, therefore, be considered as forming the connecting link between the County of Essex and the great heart of England.

Turning to the "Annals" of old John Stow, written in 1631, we find the original structure characterised as "a rare piece of worke," and also the statement that "before the time the like had never beene seene in England." The time referred to was somewhere between the years 1106 and 1118, and our county historian, Morant, thus succinctly details the conception of the bridge by Matilda or Maud, the pious Queen of Henry I., who frequently journeyed from London to Barking Abbey. "The ancient road from this Country to London was by Old Ford; that is, through the Ford there, without a Bridge. But that passage being difficult and dangerous; and many persons losing their lives, or being thoroughly wetted,

which happened to be the case of Maud, Queen Consort of K. Henry I. : she turned the Road from Old Ford to the place where it now is, between Stratford-Bow and West-Ham ; and caused the Bridges and Causeways to be built and made at her own charge." Stow, Leland, Lysons, and others give many interesting facts concerning the history of old Bow Bridge, and it is also satisfactory to learn that documentary evidence relating to it is still in existence.

In 1303, an inquisition was sworn, which not only declared that Queen Matilda built the bridge, but also that in the reign of King Henry III. it was kept in repair by a system of tolls given as follows : "of every cart carrying corn, wood, coal, &c., one penny ; of one carrying tassel, two pence ; and of one carrying a dead Jew, eight pence."

As the years roll on we hear of complaints being made respecting the bad repair of the bridge, and several law suits seem to have been fought to decide the question as to who was responsible for its upkeep. For some time previous to the dissolution of the monasteries by Henry VIII., the Abbot of Stratford kept the bridge in good order, but in 1643, 1663, and

1690, the owners of the monastery lands disputed their obligations. Their cause being always unsuccessful, they at length agreed to continue "the charge of the bridge and causeway at Stratford for the free and uninterrupted use of the public, as was originally intended by the royal founder."

The nearest villages on each side of the bridge still retain in their names indications of the early days when bridges were unknown. From its close proximity to the arch or bow which spanned the river, the village on the Middlesex side was known as Stratford-atte-Bow. It is thus immortalised by Chaucer in the Prologue to his "Canterbury Tales":—

"And Frensch sche spak ful faire and fetysly
After the scole of Stratford atte Bowe,
For Frensch of Parys was to hire unknowe."

Having briefly alluded to the early history of old Bow Bridge, I now detail some further particulars mainly taken from a most interesting paper submitted to the Society of Antiquaries in 1837, by Mr. Alfred Burges, one of the engineers employed in the construction of the present bridge.

The original bridge was only thirteen feet six

inches wide, and remained so until 1741, when it was increased to twenty-one feet. Previous to this a wooden platform, five feet wide, had been projected over the piers on the north side. This was renewed, only a few years before the bridge was removed, at the expense of the counties of Essex and Middlesex, after they had tried a few years' litigation on the subject.

At the time of its demolition the old bridge consisted of three pointed arches, and though Mr. Burges believes that it never had fewer openings, he does not consider that these arches formed part of the original structure. He goes on to say that the original arches "may probably have given place to several forms of construction, each partaking of the fashion prevalent at the time of its erection. It may also be observed that the form of the arches is of that particular description which was last of all introduced into our architecture, and is commonly known as the Tudor arch, from being found in most of the buildings erected in the reigns of the two last Henrys, or about the latter end of the fifteenth century; and it may, therefore, fairly be stated, that the above arches could not be older than the date assigned for the introduction of that species of

arch to which they were similar, but had, in all probability, been erected since that time, as was clearly the case with regard to the arch of the centre opening of the bridge."

That the bridge possessed every characteristic of early bridge architecture is amply proved by the fact that there were "small openings for the water, and wide piers with large angular projections, not only to divide and throw off the force of the current, but for foot-passengers to retire into, to avoid the danger from carriages and horsemen when passing along the narrow roadway."

Mr. Burges does not appear to have found the bridge very symmetrical in shape, for he says that "scarcely any two corresponding points in the structure agreed. We find the springing courses upon different levels, and also the elevation of the arches above the surface of the water, besides which the two piers were unlike both in width and length."

A peculiarity of the side arches consisted in the projection of a central rib below the arch-line. This did not exist in the central arch, though the same springing stones remained.

As regards the material used, Caen stone

formed the arching, Purbeck stone and Kentish rag were freely used in the inferior parts, while the facing of the piers was composed of Portland and Kentish stone.

The foundations were found to have been laid about four feet below the bed of the river upon a stratum of gravel, and, unlike many other old bridges, possessed no starlings or projections to ensure additional stability.

The bridge was closed, preparatory to its removal, on July 25th, 1835, and on the same day a temporary wooden structure was opened to carry the traffic of this busy road across the river. When the roadway was removed and the arch uncovered it was found that originally vehicles passed over directly upon the stonework, and that no ballast covered it. Ruts nine inches deep were discovered actually cut into the solid arch, and in some cases the footprints of horses could be distinctly traced.

From June to December, 1835, the necessary excavations for the new bridge proceeded, and during this time several antiquities were discovered, such as silver coins, iron keys, spear heads, etc.

It was on December 12th, 1835, that on the

Essex side the first stone of the new bridge was laid. It consisted of a mass of granite five and a half tons in weight. A cavity had been hollowed out in the centre, and in this was deposited a bottle containing a complete set of new current coin. A brass plate was also placed in the aperture bearing the following inscription :—

BOW BRIDGE.

“The old Bridge over the river Lea, founded on this site by Matilda, Queen of Henry I., having become inadequate for the increased thoroughfare by land and water, and a new Bridge to replace the ancient structure having been resolved upon, this first stone was laid on XII. December, MDCCCXXXV., by Emma, the lady of John Henry Pelly, of Upton, in the county of Essex, Esquire, F.R.S., Deputy Master of the Trinity House, and Chairman of Trustees of the Middlesex and Essex turnpike roads, assisted by the Committee of Trustees, appointed to carry into effect the provisions of the Act 4 and 5, William IV., chap. 89, in relation to Bow Bridge.”

Here follow the names of the trustees, Clerk to the Trust, the Engineers (James Walker, F.R.S., and Alfred Burges), the Surveyor to the Trust, and the builders (Messrs. Curtis).

On January 31st, 1838, the last stone of the arch was laid by John Henry Pelly, Esq., of Upton, and on this occasion a bronze medal of Queen Victoria, dated, and containing a suitable

inscription round the edge, was placed in the centre of the stone. A little more than a year afterwards, on the 14th February, 1839, the bridge was publicly opened by William Cotton, Esq., F.R.S., Sheriff of Essex. The Sheriff of Middlesex (Alderman Thomas Wood) also took part in the function.

The contract for the new bridge was for £11,000, and this included the erection of the temporary wooden structure. The following table of dimensions may not be out of place:—

	ft.	in.
Span of arch measured on the face - -	66	0
„ „ square with the abutment line -	64	0
Rise of arch - - - - -	13	9
Thickness of abutments - - - - -	15	0
Length of bridge at wings - - - - -	146	0
Width of bridge in clear of parapet - -	40	0
„ carriage-way - - - - -	30	0
„ each footpath - - - - -	5	0
Thickness of arch stones at springing - -	4	0
„ „ „ in crown - - - - -	2	6

In form the bridge is a flat segment, rising not more than three feet. The arch is oblique, and elliptical in form. The wing walls extend at each end, and terminate in granite pedestals. In erecting the new bridge the road was made straight, by taking it across the river diagonally

and removing a few old buildings on both banks.

A large quantity of the old masonry was used up in building the new arch, but the external facing is of blue Aberdeen granite. The foundations are strongly laid in the gravel several feet below the bed of the river, and sheet-piling is driven in all round them to afford additional protection.

Those who now pass along this fine wide roadway could hardly imagine the existence of such a structure as old Bow Bridge.

Index.

- Abbey, St. John's, 83, 86
- " " " Gateway of, 108
- Alfred, King, 6, 7
- Armada, the great, 123-134
- Audley, Lord, 108
- Aulus Plautius, 76
- Battle at Ashingdon, 8
- " " Waltham, 3
- Boadicea, 3, 78
- Bonner, 175
- Camulodunum, see Colchester
- Capon-tree, 167
- Caractacus, 76
- Chelmsford, "bloody assize" of, 11.
- Child, Sir Joshua, 204
- Christianity introduced into Essex, 4
- Cockcrowning Court, 135
- " origin of, 138
- " traditional origin of, 139
- Cockcrowning, various names, 140
- Constantine, 4
- Colchester (Camulodunum), 2-4
- Colchester, besieged, 9, 19, 89
- " captured, 7
- " decline of, 5
- " rebels at, 10
- " tokens, 118, 120
- Colchester in the olden times, 74
- " " A.D. 1300, 85
- " " John's reign, 84
- Colchester, the Siege of, 89
- " its historic buildings and famous men, 100
- Colchester keep, the, 104
- " lost buildings, 106
- " museum, 106
- " Roman walls and remains, 100-3
- Colchester, Saxon remains, 103
- Cunobelin, King of the Trinobantes, 74
- Danes at Colchester, 81
- Day, Daniel (Good Day), 185
- Drake, Sir Francis, 123, 125, 129, 132
- Dunmow Flitch, the, 143
- " " claimants, 148-152
- Dunmow Flitch, claims refused, 154-6
- Dunmow Flitch, literary references to, 146-7
- Dunmow Flitch, Morant on, 147
- " " priory founded, 143-4
- Dutch congregation at Colchester, 87, 98, 118
- Dutch congregation at Harwich, 236
- Earthquake at Colchester, 99
- Eddystone Rock, 130
- Edward II., 234
- Edward III., 235
- Elizabeth, Queen, 14, 112
- " " at Tilbury, 127
- Epping Forest, 22
- " conservators, 35
- " crown. under the, 28, 31
- " estovers, 27, 30
- " Forest court, 26
- " Forest laws, 23, 32-5
- " Henry VIII., *re*, 22
- " Hunt, the 24-5
- " pasturage and "fence month," 26-7
- Epping, Verderers of, 25
- Essex poet, an, 223
- " tokens, 114
- " Charles I., 116

- Essex, Elizabeth, 115
 „ George III., 116
 Eudo of Rei, 82
 Evelyn, John, 204
 Executions: Beche, John, 87
 „ Capel, Lord, 96
 „ Leslie and Lucas, 94
 „ witchcraft, for, 213
 Fairlop fair, 182
 „ boat, 187
 Flambrø' Head, Armada off, 132
 Fox hunting, first record of, 67
 Gallows in Essex, the, 163
 Gilbert, William, 110
 Greenstead Church, 37-42
 Grimston, Sir Harbottle, 111
 Gull, Sir William, 112
 Harold, the burial of, at Waltham, 43
 Harold, the tomb of, 59
 Harsnett, Samuel, 106, 110
 Harwich, historic, 232
 „ Dutch attack, 236
 „ Edward III. at, 235
 „ Elizabeth at, 236
 „ Isabella at, 234
 „ sea-fight at, 233
 Henry VIII., amours of, 13
 Historic Essex, 1
 „ Britons and Romans, 1-5
 „ Danes and Saxons, 5-8
 „ Mediæval history, 8-12
 Hopkins, the witchfinder, 20, 208
 „ death of, 222
 „ Gaul, Rev. John, 220
 „ Hudibras, 221
 „ tests, 219
 Howard, Lord, of Effingham, 125, 130-1
 Hunter, William, the martyr, 171
 „ martyr's tree, 180
 „ memorial obelisk, 178
 „ stake, at the, 177
 Iceni, revolt of, the, 3
 Industries, 21
 James I., 34
 John, 9
 Lanvalei, William de, 84
 Lawless court, the, 135
 Leicester, Robert Dudley, Earl of, 201
 Leslie, John, Bishop of Ross, 128
 Long, Miss Katherine, 207
 Lovel, Lord, 12
 Lucas and Leslie, their tomb, 96
 Malet, William, 49
 Marian persecutions, the, 13, 87
 Marsh, the Rev. William, 111
 Medina Sidonia, Duke of, 123, 131-2
 Mendoza, 123
 Mildmay, Sir Henry, 202
 Moot-Hills, 164-6, 167-9
 Oak, great, near Ilford, 184
 Old Bow Bridge, 238
 „ „ Alfred Burges on, 241
 Old Bow Bridge, building of, tolls, etc., 239
 Old Bow Bridge inscription, 244
 „ „ the new bridge, 245
 Orwell, 232
 Pageants, master of the, 224
 Parma, Duke of, 125, 131
 Peasant revolts, 9, 11
 Pepys, 202
 Philip II. of Spain, 122-3
 Piers Plowman, *re* Dunmow, 146
 Plague, the, 15
 „ at Colchester, 98
 Poaching abbot, a, 67
 Poplar, Lombardy, introduced, 71
 Quarles, Francis, 223
 „ divine emblems, the, 227
 „ persecution and death, 225-6
 Quarles, John, 230
 Queen Elizabeth at Tilbury, 230
 Ray, John, 195
 Rebellion, the great, 16-19
 Reformation disturbances, 13
 Richard II., 10
 Rivers, Lady, 69-70
 Roads, Roman, 2
 Rochford, Earl, 70-1
 Roncalia, court at, 141
 Ship money, 15-16
 Siege of Colchester, the, 89
 „ „ capitulation, 93

- | | |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Siege of Colchester, Fairfax, 90 | Vita Haroldi, the, 45 |
| " " fines, 97 | Walpole, Horace, 206 |
| " " sallies, 92 | Walsingham, Sir Francis, 110, 134 |
| " " town seized, | Wanstead House, 199 |
| 90 | " Manor, 200 |
| Sluys, battle of, 235 | War of the Roses, 11 |
| Spurgeon, Rev. C. H., 112 | Wat Tyler, 9-10 |
| St. Botolph's priory church, 107 | William III., 20 |
| St. Edmund, martyrdom of, 40-2 | Witchcraft, 20, 207 |
| St. Helen's, 80 | " Bishop Jewell on, 214 |
| St. Osyth's priory, 62 | " executions, 213 |
| " abbot's foxhounds, 67 | " Hopkins, Matthew, |
| " Abbot Vyntoner, 67 | 208-222 |
| " legend, 61-5 | Witchcraft, James I. Dæmon- |
| " priory suppressed, 68 | ology, 216 |
| Story, Geoffrey, 86 | Witchcraft, papal bulls, 213 |
| | " recent cases, 215 |
| | Wooden churches, 37, |
| Tilbury, 15 | " " Glastonbury, 37 |
| Tragic incident, a, 132 | " " Greenstead, 39 |
| Tusser, Thomas, 190 | " " Lindisfarne, 39 |
| " age of man, 193 Epi- | " " York, 38 |
| gram, 191; spring, 193 | |

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 Swire, Tom, 37, Devonshire Street, Keighley.
 Symington, J. Robert, Hull.
 Symonds, Rev. G. E., Thaxted, Dunmow.
- Talfourd, Rev. Rev. W. W., Thundersley, Rayleigh.
 Tamplin, Rev. G., Newport, Bishops Stortford.
 Taylor, Thomas, Bocking, Braintree.
 Taylor, Wm., Chad Road, Edgbaston, Birmingham.
 Trywell, Rev. Canon, Stapleford Abbots.
 Thompson, Gen. C. W., Wethersfield Place, near Braintree.
 Thompson, Jno., J.P., The Lindens, Peterborough.
 Tremlett, J. D., Hillands, Dedham.
 Tuer, Andrew W., 50, Leadenhall Street, London, E.C.
- Underwood, Rev. Canon, Histon, near Cambridge.
 Unwin, George, Chilworth, Surrey.
 Unwin, T. Fisher, 11, Paternoster Buildings, London, E.C.
- Varley, Rev. F., Greenstead, Colchester.
- Walker, Lt.-Col. J., Broom Hill, Colchester.
 Walker, W. C., Loughton (2 copies).
 Wallinger, R. N. Arnold, Writtle, Chelmsford.
 Wallis, Frank W., 112, Hackney Road, Strand Green.
 Walsh, Rev. J., Wimbrish, Saffron Walden.
 Walter, W., Hon. Sec. Woodford Congregational Library, Woodford
 Green.
 Warner, Courtenay, Highams, Woodford Green.
 Warner, Robert, Widford Lodge, London Road, Chelmsford.
 Watkin, Rev. T. G., 3, St. Paul's Road, Cambridge.
 Watney, John, F.S.A., Mercer's Hall, London.
 Wedlake, Reginald W. Pole, White House, Hornchurch (2 copies).
 Welsh, Rev. W., Weeley, Colchester.
 Went, F., Brightlingsea.
 West, Rev. George, J.P., Horsham Hall, Thaxted.
 Wigan Free Public Library.
 White, Rev. R. H., Little Bardfield, Braintree.
 White, Tyndale, Stondon Place, (near) Brentwood.
 Whittingham, Wm., Comely Bank, Walthamstow.
 Wildridge, T. Tindall, Beverley.

Wilkinson, Major A. E., 7, Cavendish Place, Brighton.
Willetts, Rev. S., Artillery Street, Colchester.
Williams, R. H., J.P., Buckland, East Tilbury.
Williment, R. G., Hon. Sec. Field Club, Brentford.
Wilson, Rev. G. M., Great Canfield, Dunmow.
Wilson, T. Hay, Crawcrook, Chingford.
Wilkinson, Lt.-Col. A. R., 107, Philbeach Gardens, S.W.
Winch, Mr., Colchester.
Winn, Miss, Appleby Hall, Doncaster.
Winstone, Benjamin, 53, Russell Square, London, W.C.
Wire, A. P. (for Essex Field Club Library), 1, Seaton Villas, Birkbeck
Road, Leytonstone.
Wix, Rev. Joseph, Guildford Lodge, Watford, Herts.
Wood, R. H., F.S.A., Rugby.
Wood, Henry E., 12, Belle Vue Terrace, York

THE following Books relating to Essex are frequently in stock, or can, in most cases, be procured to order. As there are several editions to some works, the dates given must be considered approximate. Particulars as to price, &c., may be obtained from

T. FORSTER,



De Olde Booke Shoppe,

101, High Street,



COLCHESTER.



- Agriculture of the County of Essex, by the Secretary of the Board of Agriculture, illustrated, 2 vols., 8vo. 1807.
 Do. by Griggs, 4to. 1794.
 Do. by Vancouver, 4to. 1795.
 Annals of Evangelical Nonconformity in the County of Essex, from the time of Wycliffe to the Restoration; with memorials of the Essex Ministers who were ejected or silenced in 1660-62, by T. W. Davids, of the Congregational Chapel, Lion Walk, Colchester. 1863.
 Ancient Manorial Customs, Tenures, etc., of the County of Essex, by Charnock. 1870.
 Audley End. (History of,) by Lord Braybrooke, 4to. 1836.
 Autobiography of an English Gamekeeper—John Wilkins, of Stanstead. Edited by Byng and Stephens, 8vo., illustrated, 6s. 1892.
 Beauties of England and Wales, by Brayley and Britton. Delineations, topographical, historical, and descriptive of each county. [Vol. 5 contains Essex.] 1803.
 Berry's County Genealogies and Pedigrees of Essex Families, folio. 1840.
 Birds of Essex. A contribution to the Natural History of the County, by Miller Christy, 8vo., illustrated. 15s. 1890.
 Vol. II. of the Essex Field Club—Special Memoirs.
 Bird Nesting and Bird Skinning, by E. Newham; revised and rewritten by Miller Christy, 1s. 1888.
 Braintree Union. Proceedings in reference to the Appointment of a Chaplain, by an Elected Guardian, 8vo., 29 pp. Braintree, 1838.
 Braintree Church Rate Case. Report of the Judgments, Gosling v. Veley, in 1850, 8vo., 44 pp. 1850.
 Brentwood Free Grammar School. An enquiry into its Revenues and Abuses, 8vo., 104 pp. 1823.
 Burgess, Rev. W., Vicar of Thorpe, Kirby, and Walton. Sermons—Doctrinal and Practical, 8vo. 1863.
 Beleigh Abbey (Historical Account of,) 4to. 1818.

- Beleigh Abbey (Notes on,) by Spurrell, 16mo. 1864.
 Colchester Castle, its History and Antiquities, by H. Round. 1882.
 Colchester Castle, a Roman Building, a few remarks on the above book, by G. Buckler, 8vo., 16 pp., not published. 1882.
 Colchester Castle, built by a Colony of Romans, as a Temple to their deified Emperor, Claudius Cæsar, by H. Jenkins, Rector of Stanway, 8vo., with eight illustrations. 1853.
 Colchester Castle, not a Roman Temple, being a review of the above Lecture, by E. L. Cutts, 8vo., illustrated. 1853.
 An appendix to the above Lecture, together with a reply to the animadversions of the Rev. E. L. Cutts, 8vo. 1853.
 Colchester Castle, shown to have once been the Templ'd Citadel, which the Romans raised to their Emperor Claudius, at Colonia Camulodunum, by H. Jenkins, 8vo. 1861.
 Revised edition. 1869.
 Colchester Castle, a Roman Building, and the oldest and noblest Monument of the Romans in Britain, by G. Buckler, author of "Twenty-two of the Churches of Essex." 8vo., illustrated. 1876.
 Colchester Castle, its founders, governors, and owners, with description of St. Botolph's Priory, by B. Golding, 6d. 1892.
 Colchester. (An account of the Ancient Borough Town of) from the earliest period to the present time, by R. Swinborne, sm. 8vo., with seven engravings. N.D.
 Colchester. (Sketches of Ancient,) by J. Y. Watson, 8vo. 1879.
 Colchester. (Guide to) and its environs, with notes on the Flora and Entomology of the District, 1s.
 Colchester, its History and Antiquities. Selected from the most approved Authors, by M. Carter.
Of this work there are several editions, the first being scarce, the others fairly common.
 Colchester. (History and description of the Ancient Town and Borough of,) by Thomas Cromwell, 8vo., illustrated. Of this work there are several editions.
 Colchester. (Siege of,) or an event of the Civil War, A.D., 1648, by G. F. Townsend, 8vo., illustrated. N.D.
 Colchester. Historical Sketch of the Parish of St. Martin, 6d. 1891.
 Colchester. (The History and description of,) the Camulodunum of the Britons, and the first Roman Colony of Britain, with an account of the Antiquities of that most ancient Borough (by Strutt), 8vo., usually in two volumes. 1803.
 Colchester. Short History of the Town, by Dr. H. Laver, illustrated, 3d., post free.
 Colchester. (Morant's History, see Essex.)
 Colchester. (Charities of,) Report of Official Enquiry held in Colchester, in 1886, before W. Good, 1s. Colchester, 1886.
 Colchester. (History of,) by E. L. Cutts, contains a Chapter on the Jewish Quarter of the Town, 3s. 6d. 1888.
 Colchester. Story of the Siege, by A. Penn, sewed, 6d. Colchester, 1888.
 Colchester. (Report of St. Alban's Diocesan Conference at,) in 1889, 6d. Colchester, 1889.
 Colchester. Memorials of the Baptist Church worshipping in Eld Lane Baptist Chapel, published in connection with the Bicentenary. 1889.
 Colchester. A brief history of the Independent Church assembling in the Lion Walk, by J. A. Tabor, printed for private circulation. 1861.
 Colchester Museum. Catalogue of the Antiquities therein, illustrated, 8vo.
 Colchester's Teares, affecting and afflicting City and County, by

- several persons of quality, 1648, and several later reprints, 8vo. and 4to.
- Colchester Oyster Feast. A Souvenir of the one given on October 22, 1891, by L. J. Watts, Mayor, 8vo., illustrated, 1s. 1891.
- Colchester. History and description of the Walls, by Duncan, 8vo. 1856.
- Colchester. The New Charter granted to the Mayor and Commonalty, in 1763, with recitals of the Old Charters confirmed by the present, 8vo. 1764.
- Colchester Worthies. Short Biographical notices of over 200 deceased noted characters, natives of or sometimes resident in the Borough, by C. E. Benham, with a view of the High Street on the day of the Jubilee of King George III., 3s. 6d., post free. 1892.
- Chelmsford. (Narrative of the late deplorable fire at,) on March 19, 1808, with ground plan of the part of the Town destroyed, by Rt. Kelham, a witness of the Fire, 8vo. 1808.
- A general and circumstantial account of the above fire, by W. W. Wall, a spectator, 8vo. 1804.
- Copenhagen, its Siege and Capture by the British, in 1807, with frontispiece, 42 pp. Colchester, N.D.
- Christian Religion's Appeal from the groundless prejudices of the Sceptic to the Bar of Common Reason, by J. Smith, Rector of St. Mary's, Colchester, small folio. 1675.
- Coggeshall. Its History, with an Account of the Church, Abbey, Manors, etc., by G. F. Beaumont, illustrated, 8vo., cloth, 7s. 6d. Coggeshall, 1890.
- Coggeshall. Radulphi Abbatis Coggeshal, opera quæ supersunt curante Alf. John Donkin, nunc Primum edita, 8vo., boards, uncut, only 25 copies printed, scarce, portrait of Donkin. Noviomago, 1856.
- Coggeshall. (The Annals of,) by Bryan Dale. sm. 8vo., illustrated. Coggeshall, 1863.
- Cooke's County Histories. [Vol. 6 contains Essex.]
- Copford, Essex. A short Account of the Church, Mural Paintings, etc., by B. Ruck-Keene, View of Church, 1s. Coggeshall, 1890.
- Clavering. A brief History of the Congregational Chapel, from its foundation, in 1692, by Bromley, 8vo. 1873.
- Domesday Book, relating to Essex, translated by T. C. Chisenhale Marsh, 4to.
- Domesday Book. The facsimile of the part relating to Essex, was published at Southampton, in 1862.
- Dorling's Guide to Walton, Clacton, and the neighbouring Towns, to which is added a guide from Walton to London by Steam Boat, cloth, illustrated.
- Dagenham Beach, by Perry, 8vo. 1721.
- Ditto, by Boswell, 12mo. 1717.
- Dunmow. A complete history of the Manor, Church, etc., by J. W. Saville, 8vo. 1865.
- Dunmow Flitch, its history, customs, etc., by W. Andrews, 8vo. 1877.
- East Anglian Earthquake, on April 22, 1884. Full Report on it, by Raphael Meldola and W. White, 8vo., with maps and illustrations. Vol. 1 of the Essex Field Club, Special Memoirs. 1885.
- East Anglian Notes and Queries on subjects connected with the Counties of Suffolk, Cambridge, Essex, and Norfolk. The first edition contains 4 volumes. The new series is now in course of publication.
- Earthquake in East-Essex, on April 22, 1884. Reprinted from the Essex Telegraph, 1s.
- Essex Field Club. The organ of this Club, "The Essex Naturalist,"

is issued monthly, price to Members, 4s. 6d., to Non-Members, 9s. per annum. Previous to its commencement, they issued Transactions and Proceedings, the early volumes being very scarce.

THE REPRINTED PAPERS INCLUDE—

Elephant Hunting in Essex, by Walker.
Report on Explorations at Ambresbury Banks.
Report on Explorations at Loughton Camp.
Report on the Exploration of the Essex Deneholes.
Lichen Flora of Epping Forest, by Crombie.
Memoir of the late G. S. Gibson.
Papers on the protection of Wild Animals and Plants, and on the condition of Epping Forest, etc.

For special Memoirs, see—

East Anglian Earthquake.

Birds of Essex.

Epping Forest. (A guide to), by E. F. Buxton, illustrated. 1s. 1890.

Essex Archaeological Society's Transactions. The parts are issued at uncertain intervals.

Essex Highways, Byways, and Waterways, written and illustrated by C. R. B. Barret, ordinary copies 12s. 6d., *nett*, (also 120 numbered copies on Whartman paper, additional etchings, 31s. 6d., *nett*. 1892.

Essex. (The Ancient Sepulchral Monuments of,) by G. F. Chancellor, 4to., illustrated, £4 4s., *nett*.

Essex. (The People's History of,) from the earliest ages to the present time, with account of the Hundreds and Boroughs, and descriptive sketches of their antiquities and ruins, etc., by D. W. Collier, 8vo., Chelmsford. 1861.

Essex. (Salmon's History and Antiquities of), only issued to page 460. 1740.

Essex. (Tindal's History of), only two parts published. 1720.

Essex Review. A quarterly Journal devoted to the study of the Antiquities, etc., of the County, 5s. per annum if paid in advance, 1s. 6d. per part. 1892.

Essex. An Historical and Chorographical description of the county, by John Nordon, 1594, reprinted by the Camden Society. 1840.

Essex. (Durrant's handbook for,) or *guide* to the principal objects of interest in each Parish, with an introduction treating of the History, Geology, Antiquities, etc., of the County, by Miller Christy, 8vo., 237 pp., 2s. 6d. 1887.

Eastern England. (Royal Illustrated History of,) Civil, Military, Political, and Ecclesiastical, from the earliest period to the present time, by A. D. Bayne, 2 vols., thick 8vo., Great Yarmouth, N.D.

Essex. The History and Antiquities of the County, by P. Morant, Rector of St. Mary-at-the-Walls, Colchester, 2 vols., folio. 1768.

This work was reprinted (in numbers) in 1817, at Chelmsford, but without plates or date.

Morant also issued the History of Colchester separately. There are two editions.

Essex Dialect. (A glossary of the,) by Charnock. 8vo., 3s. 6d. 1880.

Essex. The History and Topography of the County, by Thomas Wright, illustrated by a series of views taken on the spot, by Arnold, Bartlett, and others, 4to., mostly in two volumes. 1836.

Essex. (The Farming of,) a report, by R. Baker, of Writtle, 6d. 1844.

Eastern England, from the Thames to the Humber, by W. White, with map, 2 vols. 1865.

Ecclesiastical Architecture of the County, from the Norman Era to the 16th Century, by Hadfield, 77 full-paged plates, folio. London, N.D.

Essex County Election. Speeches delivered at the Hustings, and the

- Proceedings during Fifteen Days' Contest between Western, Tyrell, and Wellesley, in 1830, with an impartial Selection of the Squibs and Handbills. Chelmsford, 1830.
- Essex Harmony, being a choice collection of Songs, Catches, Canons, Epigrams, etc., for two to nine voices, from the works of the most Eminent Masters. N. D.
- Essex Note Book and Suffolk Gleaner, "A snapper up of unconsidered Trifles," containing upwards of 400 Notes of Local Interest on Matters relating to County, illustrated, sm. 4to., cloth, very scarce, 158. 1884-5.
- Essex. (Excursions in the County of,) Historical and Topographical Delineations of every Town and Village, with Descriptions of the Residences of the Nobility and Gentry, 100 engravings. 1818.
- Essex. (History of,) from Cox's Britannia, with map of County, 103 pp.
- Essex Literary Journal, or Monthly Repository of Literature, and the Arts and Sciences connected with the County, issued in 12 parts, 4to. Chelmsford, 1839.
- Essex. A new and complete History of Essex, from a late survey, by a gentleman, published under the patronage and direction of Peter Muilman, 6 vols., illustrated. Chelmsford, 1769-72.
- The sixteen following items are reprints by Charles Clarke, of Totham; some of them passed through several editions, mostly from his Private Press.
- A Doctor's "Do"-ings; or the entrapped Heiress of Witham. A satirical poem, by Charles Clarke.
- English Cookery, Five Hundred Years ago, exhibited in sixty "Nyms," or Receipts, from a manuscript compiled about 1390, by the Master Cooks of Richard II., Black Letter, with a running glossary and notes. 1849.
- False Prophets Discovered, being a true story of the lives and deaths of two Weavers of Colchester; they affirmed that they were the prophets mentioned in Revelation XI. Reprinted from the edition of 1642, with an Appendix, containing an account of the Inworth Prophetess of 1797. 1844.
- Fairlop and its Founder; or Facts and Fun for the Forest Frolickers, by a Famed First Friday Fairgoer, with the curious Will of Mr. Day, of Wapping, and five Poems on Fairlop. 1847.
- Human Fate: a Poem, by Sir Egerton Brydges. Reprinted by C. Clarke.
- John Noakes and Mary Styles; or, "an Essex calf's" visit to Tiptree Races; a Poem, exhibiting some of the most striking lingual localisms peculiar to Essex, with a Glossary. 1839.
- Metrical Mirth about Marriageable Misses; or the Modern Mode in Matters Matrimonial, by a Lover of Honest Mothers and Gentle Daughters. 1848.
- Mirth and Metre; or Rhymes, "Raps," and Rhapsodies, by C. C.
- Narrative of the Miraculous Cure of Anne Munnings, of Colchester, by Faith, Prayer, and Anointing with Oil, in 1705.
- Pleasant Quippes for Upstart Newfangled Gentlewomen, by Stephen Gosson. Reprint by C. C.
- Poor Robin's True Character of a Scold; or, the Shrew's Looking-Glass, dedicated to all Domineering Dames, Wives Rampant, Cuckolds Couchant, and Hen-peckt Sneaks, in City or Country (reprinted from the Edition of 1678), Black Letter. 1848.
- Pulpit Oratory, four Centuries ago. Two sermons preached in 1432.
- Scarcity and Excellency of Virtuous Women, by J. Coltby, of Maldon. Reprint by C. C.

Tiptree Fair in 1844. A curious specimen of the "Unlettered Muse," with notes. 1848.
 Tiptree Races; a poem (with notes), to which is added an Historical Account of Tiptree Heath, Priory, and Fair; also a Poem inscribed to Thomas Hood, Esq., of Lake House, Wemstead, each line ends with 4 rhymes.
 Fairlop Fair. History, origin and rise of the Fair, 8vo. 1812.

Footsteps of St. Paul in Rome, by S. Russell Forbes, a native of Colchester. It gives a Genealogical table tracing the descent of Helena and Constantine, from the British King Caractacus, 8vo., illustrated, 2s.
 Felstead Charities. Scheme for the management and administration of the Estates and Revenues, approved of by the Court of Chancery in 1851, 8vo. 1852.
 Felstead School (A History of), with some account of the Founder and his Descendants, by John Sargeant, 8vo., illustrated, 4s. nett. Chelmsford, 1889.
 Felix Hall. (Descriptive Sketch of the collection of works of Ancient Greek and Roman Art at,) a paper read at the Meeting of the Essex Archæological Society in 1863, by the Rev. J. H. Marsden, 4to., illustrated, scarce.
 Gibson's Flora of Essex, or a list of the Flowering Plants and Ferns found in the County, 8vo. 1862.
 Guides. These are too numerous to mention; they are issued for almost every place in the County, and in many cases there are several editions.
 Gibbs, John, formerly Curator of Chelmsford Museum.
 First Catechism of Botany, 1s.
 Symmetry of Flowers, 6d.
 Great Britain and Ireland. *Magna Britannia et Hibernia, antiqua et nova*, 6 vols., 4to. [Vol. 1 contains Essex]. 1720-31.
 Halstead, Old and New, by W. J. Evans, 8vo., illustrated. 1886.
 Harwich. An Historical and Archæological Sketch of the Town, by R. Cutler. Harwich, n.d.
 Harwich. Charters granted to the Borough by Kings James I. and Charles II., translated from the Latin by order of the Corporation, 4to. 1798.
 Harleian Society. [Vol. 13 contains the Visitations of Essex by Hawley, 1552; Hervey, 1558; Cooke, 1570; Raven, 1612; Owen and Lilly, 1634, edited by Metcalf, 4to. 1878.
 Harrod's Calendar of the Court Rolls of the Borough of Colchester. 4to. 1865.
 Ditto. Repertory of the Records and Evidences of the Borough, 4to. 1865.
 Ditto. Report on the Records of the Borough, 4to. 1865.
 Harwich (a Season at), with Excursions by Land and Water, to which is added Researches, Historical and Natural, and Miscellaneous, by Lindsey, 8vo., illustrated. Harwich, 1851.
 History of Essex, from the earliest period to the present time, with Biographical notices of the most distinguished natives, by Ogborne, illustrated 4to. 1814.
 Historical Record of the Forty-fourth, or the East-Essex Regiment, by Carter, illustrated. Chatham, 1887.
 Harwich and Dovercourt (History of), by Dale, 4to. 1732.
 Hedingham Castle, its History; by Majendie, folio, illustrated. 1796.
 Hickingrill (Rev. E.), Rector of All Saints' Church, Colchester.

A voluminous writer, mostly in connection with legal cases with which he was connected. He also wrote a history of Jamaica. Inoculation (Sermon in defence of), preached at Ingatestone, in 1766, by R. Houlton, 76 pp., scarce. Chelmsford, N.D.

Jesus Christ (Life of), the Holy Apostles, Evangelists, St. John Baptist, the Blessed Virgin, and others, during the first three Centuries, by P. Wright, Vicar of Oakley, illustrated, folio. N.D.

Jerusalem, its Topography, Walls, and Temples, a new light on an ancient subject, by S. Russell Forbes, a native of Colchester, *in the press, nearly ready*, 3s., *nett*.

Lawford Hall (the Hall of). Records of an Essex House, and of its proprietors from the Saxon Times to the Reign of Henry VIII., illustrated, by F. M. Nichols, 42s. *nett*. 1891.

Of this work only 128 copies were printed, mostly for presentation.

Lysons (Daniel.) The environs of London, an historical account of the Towns and Villages within 12 miles of London, in 4 vols. [Volume 4 contains Essex.] 1792-96.

Maldon. (A Short History of), by E. A. Fitch, 4d., post free.

Maplestead. History and Antiquities of the Round Church, with an Historical sketch of the Crusades, by Wallen, illustrated, 8vo. 1836.

Memorials of the Antiquities and Architecture, Family History and Heraldry of the County, by Suckling, 34 full-page plates, folio. 1845.

Memoir of Carter, the Lip Artist of Coggeshall, by Dampier, illustrated. 1850.

Marsh (Dr. W.), sometime Rector of St. Peter's, Colchester, his Life, by his daughter, with portrait, 8vo. 1867.

Newcourt's Repertorium. An Ecclesiastical Parochial History of the Diocese of London (this Diocese then included Middlesex and Essex, with parts of Herts and Bucks), with portrait, 2 vols., small folio. 1708.

Numismatology. A monthly magazine, devoted to the study of Coins, edited by T. Forster, Colchester, 2s. 6d. per annum, post free. 1892.

Osyth (St.). Some account of the Priory, by Watney, 8vo. 1871.

Papers in relation to the Ancient Topography of the Eastern Counties of Great Britain, and on the right means of interpreting the Roman Itinerary, by Taylor, 4to. 1892.

Paglesham Oyster. Music, Charades, Riddles, etc., by Harris, Hatch, and Wiseman, 4to. Rochford, 1870.

Plain Thoughts on Prophecy, by W. Marsh, Vicar of St. Peter's, Colchester, 8vo. Colchester, N.D.

Paraphrase on the Lord's Prayer, Miscellaneous Poems and Fables in Verse, by Mrs. Winter, of Manningtree, 8vo. 1852.

Poll Books, for the different divisions of the County, for Colchester, Chelmsford, Maldon, etc.

Pleshey. Some account of its Lords and its Antiquities. 1885.

Pleshey. Its History and Antiquities, by Gough, 4to. 1803.

Pinnock's County Histories. [Vol. 2 contains Essex.]

Portraits. Lives of eminent and remarkable characters, born or long resident in the counties of Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk, 68 portraits with descriptive letterpress. 1820.

Protoplast. A series of papers on the beginnings or First mention of things, the subjects treated of being Matter, Day, Law, Sleep, Sin, Death, Baptism, Promise, etc., by Mrs. Baillie of Wivenhoe. There are several editions, 5s.

Rambles in Rome, an Archæological and Historical Guide, by S. Russell Forbes, a native of Colchester, with map, plans, and illustrations, 3s. 6d. 1887.

- Rochford Hundred. (The History of,) by Philip Benton; has been coming out in parts for some years.
- Royal Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland. Full Report of the proceedings at the Colchester Meeting, in August, 1876.
- Romford. (Memoirs of Old) and other places within the Royal Liberty of Havering-atte-Bower, by George Terry. Romford, 1880.
- Stifford, and more about Stifford, by Palin. 1871-2.
- Silkworm. (The Japanese,) Bombyx Yama-mai. Report on its culture in England in 1867-8, by A. Wallace, M.D., of Colchester, 8vo., 1s. Colchester, 1869.
- Sportsman's Directory; or, Park and Gamekeeper's Companion, with a description of all kinds of Poaching, etc., by John Mayor, Gamekeeper, 12mo. Colchester, 1815.
- Stock-Harvard, its Register by Gibson. 1881.
- Saffron-Walden. (Sketches of,) and its vicinity, by Player, 8vo. 1845.
- Tendring Hundred in the Olden Time. A series of Sketches by J. Yelloly Watson, of Thorpe-le-Soken. N.D.
- True Relation of that Honourable, though unfortunate expedition of Kent, Essex, and Colchester in 1648, by M. Carter, Quarter-Master General in the King's Forces, and one of the Prisoners who surrendered. There are several editions.
- Tilbury. Reports, plans, etc., of the proposed tunnel from Gravesend to Tilbury, by R. Dodd, 4to. 1798.
- Tilbury. (Observations on the intended Tunnel under the Thames at), to connect Essex with Kent, by C. Clarke. 1799.
- Totham (Great) A History, Antiquarian and Statistical, of the Parish, by Johnson, 8vo. 1831.
- Trade Signs of Essex. A popular account of the origin and meanings of the Public House and other signs, now or formerly found in the County, by Miller Christy, 8vo., illustrated, 7s. 6d. 1887.
- Topographical and Statistical Descriptions of every County in England and Scotland, with separate map of each county, also description of each County in Wales, with 2 maps, one of the northern and the other the southern counties, by G. A. Cooke, 19 vols. v. x.
- Twenty-two of the Churches of Essex. Architecturally described and illustrated by Buckler, 8vo. 1856.
- Upminster. (Sketches of), by Wilson, sm. 4to. 1856.
- Walthamstow. Its Past, Present, and Future History, with Notes on the Objects of Interest in the surrounding neighbourhood, 8vo. Tweedie, Walthamstow, 1861.
- Waltham Abbey. History of the Town and Abbey from the Foundation to the present time, by J. Farmer, to which is added the History of Abbeys from 977 to the reign of Elizabeth. 1735.
- Waltham Holy Cross Abbey, by Buckler, 4to., illustrated.
- Waltham Abbey. (History of), by Fuller. 1840.

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